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A
D E F E N C E
O F A
L E T T E R

Concerning the
Education of, DISSENTERS

In their PRIVATE
A C A D E M I E S :

WITH A
More full and Satisfactory Account of the same,
and of their Morals and Behaviour towards the
Church of England : Being an ANSWER

TO THE
Defence of the Dissenters Education.

By S A M U E L W E S L E Y .

-----Noli irritare Crabrones !
The Kirk's a Vixen : Don't anger her.

L O N D O N ,
Printed for Robert Clavel and James Knaplock in St. Paul's
Church-yard. M D C C I V .

LETTER
OF A
DEFENCE

Education of DEFENDERS
Concerning the

JAMES FRISVOLD
JACAD EMBL

WITH A
Memoir and satisfactory Account of the same
and of their Merits and Labours towards the
Cause of the African

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THE
PREFACE.

Reader,

I'VE but little to say before you come to the Book; there being only these three things, whereof I wou'd advertise the Public; 1st, That after the printing * ** For Mr. Clavel.* my Letter concerning the *Dissenters Education*, I wrote to him that made it public, in these Words, or to this purpose:

["I can't but take it amiss, that you have Printed my Letter without my *Consent* or *Knowledge*: No wise Man wou'd chuse to expose himself, to the Fury of a whole party, especially, to one so *sharp-fang'd* and *deep-mouth'd* as that which will be now engaged against me, &c.]

The 2^d, is a Passage in a Letter to a Friend, I *then* had left among the Dissenters, who having advis'd me of the Censures concerning the foremention'd Letter, my return was to this purpose.

["You guess'd right, when you thought that Letter was Printed, without my *Consent* or *Knowledge*: However, the *matter of Fact* contain'd in't, is *true*, and if any Person will *answer* it without *Denying* that, I shan't think my self concern'd to take any notice of it; But if the *Fact* be deny'd, I must *vindicate* it.] They have *answer'd* it, they have *deny'd* it, and the Business of the following Paper is to make *Good* my words, and my former assertions.

The PREFACE.

The 3^d, is to rectify a *small mistake* in my former Letter. I had said there "that I was first brought to *London* by the Dissenters without any *Charge* to my Relations: But I understand that t'was done at their *Charge*, tho' I know I was assisted herein by the Dissenters.

And if there be any other *mistakes*, which I'm sure are *involuntary*, either in the *First Paper* or *this*, I shall readily *acknowledge* 'em as soon as I'm made *sensible* of 'em; as I shall do any *other passage* which can be prov'd contrary to *Decency* or *Christian Charity*.

Farewell.

The

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A

REPLY, &c.

WHEN I first saw the *Defence of the Dissenters Education*, in Answer to my Letter on that Subject, I found they had not at all deceiv'd my Expectations, and that I had no Reason to alter my former Opinion of 'em, *That they were none of the best natur'd People in the World.* For tho' my *Disciplinier* himself acknowledges that the Letter was written many Years since, and cannot Charge me with the Publishing of it; (a) yet he Treats me all along with that peculiar Civility which his Party was never wanting in towards those who had any ways disoblig'd them. Had he been only pleas'd to have accus'd me of *Mistakes* or *Inadvertency*; had he been so well-natur'd to have made any allowances for the *Hastiness* of a private Letter; or the *Address* to have answer'd the *Matter of Fact* without positively denying it. (b) I should scarce have thought my self concern'd to have taken any notice of his Pamphlet: But when I'm not only charg'd by broad *Innuendo's* with *Immoral* and *Scandalous Practices* while I liv'd among the Dissenters; as the reason why I forsook their *Camp*; (c) when I'm fallen foul on within six Lines after the beginning for *Impotent Malice*, and am degraded not only from *Gentility*, for which I should not much quarrel with him, but from *Christianity* too (d), when he lays load on me in *Prose* and *Verses*, in *English* and *Latin*, and represents me as fit to make an *Evidence* for a *Suam-Plot*, (e) and I'm not only accus'd of the most villainous *Ingratitude*, but of publishing bold and *scandalous Falshoods* (f): These were things which no Man ought to bear who had any regard to his Reputation; and I persuade my self that no reasonable Person will blame me for making my own *Defence*, tho' the matter be now on such a *Foot*, that I can't do it without bringing such things upon the *Stage*, as will not be much for the Reputation of my *Adversaries*.

B

§ [2.]

The Defender's Account of their private Academies.

* I have since heard his name. § [2.] Tho' I neither know the *Author's Name* * nor *Person*, nor desire to know them, least I should be tempted to any *personal Recriminations* against one who is so familiar with *Noble Lords*, that he begins with *Yours I receiv'd*; yet I can't but think he's some *forward Stripling*, who having been famous at *Bednal-Green* for his ingenious *Declamations* on those nice and important Subjects, "*An Logica bene disputat de Lana caprina?*" and "*De Connubio duorum Baculorum*"; (g) he has now a fancy to exercise his *Declamatory Style*, and shew what *Improvement* he has made under his Master *Milton* in the great *Art of Rail-ing*; and I must needs say he does pretty well in his way: but let him *Declaim* and I'll *Prove*; His business is *Words* and fine *Turns*, mine is stubborn *Matter of Fact* and *Reason*. Nor am I much mov'd at all the *marvellous things* he tells his Lordship concerning the *School* which had the Honour of his *Education*: Let's for once grant all that my Friend affirms, and be as *Civil* as he can desire: That the *Frog* can swell to equal the *Ox*, and that their *Academiunculae* are really as *Great* as he can represent them. That they Educate such Persons, as-- "The
(b) P. 3, 4. "Ingenious Mr. L. the Judicious Mr. H. the Courteous Mr. E. the Learned, Modest, Engaging, Sweet Mr. S. (b) That their Tutors are --- the most Curious-Critical-Penetrating-Deep-Rational-Accurate-Polite-Divines and Philosophers in the whole Universe; (i) and the Pupils, many excellent Scholars,
(i) P. 7. "and very fine Gentlemen, nay, equal to those of any University in Europe: Let all this be allow'd, rather than we'll fall out about small matters; but then 'tis none of my Fault if any of the *Faction* he talks of should hence infer that there's the more need the Government should have an *Eye* upon 'em, and that some *speedy Care* would be taken about them; since the more *considerable* they are, especially when they already
(k) P. 8. boast their *Numbers*, (k) they may argue, the more dangerous
of Defence must they be to Church and State.

and Calamy's *Abridgment*, Page 254. § [3.] But I think we may with Justice take off the *Edge* of their own Argument against themselves, only by asking a few *Questions*. If they have so many *Great Men* among 'em, *Where* are they, or *what* have they been doing ever since the *Restau-ration*? What did they write against *Popery*, in a Reign when we were in the greatest Danger from it, or can they name more than *Two Books* they then publish'd? What *Works* have they sent abroad that have been remarkably *useful* to the World or that are likely to perpetuate the *Memory* of the *Author*? What Discoveries in *Philosophy*, what that's considerable in
Divinity

Divinity, (l) or indeed in any part of Learning? Which 'tis (l) except strange that none of 'em shou'd produce, when they are able to ^{perhabs} Mr. Sh--- Cope Number for Number, with those of any University in Europe. (m) I don't speak of their Pool's, their Bates's, their H--'s, &c. (m) P. 7. who had all, or most of 'em their Education in the Public Universities, but of those who have been since brought up in their Private Academies.

[4.] Leaving therefore them, and their deep and recondite Learning, which I'll own, if they please, to shine as bright as the Subterranean Lamps of the Ancients, and to be render'd much more valuable and illustrious by their Modesty in taking such Pains to conceal it; that I may come to what's my more immediate Business, and avoid Mr. Jacob's Seventh deadly Sin, that of Confusion, I shall throw what I have to say in Reply to their Defence, into the following Method.

I. I shall give an Account of the immediate Reasons that induc'd me to write this Letter, which has made me so unhappy to lose the good Graces of my old Friends.

II. And next rake leave to consider the modest Defence which my Antagonist makes for his Party:

III. And then take a little notice of his particular Charge against my self, and wipe off the Aspersions of Ingratitude to my ancient Benefactors, and endeavour to do 'em the greatest piece of Service that lies in my Power.

§ [5.] For the occasion of this Letter, my Antagonist is pleas'd to charge me with writing it. "For want of Preference, and when I had occasion to Flatter,---in order to obtain it; (n) and that I was courting the--- for a certain Benefice when I wrote it, which I might have lost, if it had been known how mischievous I had been to the Church before I left their private Academies: (o) By all which he more (o) P. 15. then insinuates that I had some Person of Quality then in my Eye, to whom I was making my Court by this Letter for a Benefice, at the Expence of the Dissenters Reputation. But I must tell the Reader that this is all Art and Trick, and that neither this Writer, nor any of his Party, can Name any Person to whom I made my Addresses on that Occasion: That those two Strokes are nothing in the World but two Cyphers, and that neither for my first Benefice, which was proffer'd and given me in, or about the Year 93. nor for that which by the Providence of God, and the Bounty of our Late Queen, I now enjoy, I ever solicited any Person, but they were both given me without my expecting, or so much as once thinking of em; and the asserting

The true Occasion of my writing the Letter.

the contrary is a *Specimen* of that *Honesty* and *Veracity* which the World is to expect from my *Civil Answerer*.

§ [6.] But if he would know the plain *Truth* of the Matter, and the real *Occasion* of that Letter, he shall have it, and much good may't do him and his Party: For the *Truth* of which, I have at least *two Witnesses* among the *Dissenters*, who, I think, are too *Honest* to deny it.

The Case was thus: When I came from the *University*, my Acquaintance lay chiefly among the *Dissenters*, having scarce any *Intimacy* before I went thither from *London* with any of the *Church of England*, unless with *two Reverend* and *Worthy Persons*, my *Relations*, who lived at a *great distance*, one of whom coming to *London*, was so kind as to see me while I was at Mr. *Morton's*, and gave me such *Arguments* against that *Schism* which I was then embark'd with, as added *Weight* to my *Resolutions* when I began to think of *leaving* it. But after my *Return* to *London*, I contracted an Acquaintance with a Gentleman of the *Church of England*, who knowing my former way of *Life*, did often importune me to give him an Account in *Writing* of the *Dissenters Methods* of *Education* in their *Private Academies*, concerning which he had heard several *Passages* from me in *Conversation*, tho' for some time I did not satisfy him therein; for the *Reasons* in *Page 3.* of my Letter, and 'twas the following remarkable *Occurrence* which alter'd my *Inclinations* as to that *Affair*.

I happened to be with some of my former acquaintance, at an House in *Leadenhall-street*, or thereabouts, in the Year 93. all of 'em, as I remember, were then *Dissenters*, except one, and he has since left the *Church of England*. Their *Discourse* was so fulsomly *lewd* and *profane*, that I could not endure it; but went to the other side of the Room with a *Doctor of Physic*, who had been my *Fellow-Pupil* at Mr. *Morton's*, and to whom I owe that *Justice*, to declare that he likewise *dislik'd* the *Conversation*. A little while after we went to *Supper*; but then the *Scene* was chang'd, and they fell a railing at *Monarchy*, and blaspheming the memory of King *Charles the Martyr*, discoursing of their *Calves-head Club*, and producing or repeating some *Verses* on that Subject. I remember one of the Company told us of a Design they had at their next *Calves-head Feast*, to have a *Cold Pye* serv'd on the Table, with either a *Live-Cat* or *Hare*, I've forgot whether, enclos'd: and they had contriv'd to put one of their Company who lov'd *Monarchy*, and knew nothing of the matter, to cut it up; whereupon, and on the leaping out of the

Cat,

The same: and of the Calves-Head Anthem.

5

Cat, or Hare, they were all to set up a *Shout*, and cry, *Halloo!*
Old Puffs! -- To the Honour of the *Good Old Cause*, and to shew
 their affection to a *Commonwealth*, (p) By this, as well as by
 several other *Discourses* which I had heard amongst them, I
 found that their *Principles* were not at all *alter'd*: And these
Conversations so turn'd my stomach against 'em, and gave me
 such a just *Indignation* against such *Villainous Principles* and *Prac-*
tices, that I return'd to my Lodgings, and resolv'd to draw up
 what the Gentleman desir'd, and that Night fell a writing the
 foremention'd *Letter*, which I had finish'd between Four and
 Five the next Morning, and then laid it under my Pillow
 and went to Rest: But it seems I was watch'd by one in the
 House; who seeing me in the Evening thoughtful and *busie*,
 suspected something, and while I was in a *deep sleep*, came and
 took away the *Letter* from under my Head: I mis'd it when I
 rose, and suspecting the *Person*, who was a *Dissenter*, ask'd for it:
 nor was it deny'd; but all the Arguments were us'd which
 could be thought of, against my letting it go out of my hands:
 I then told the *Person* the immediate *Occasion* of my writing it,
 and ask'd whether there were any thing in it which was *untrue*,
 who cou'd not say there was; but yet did prevail with me to
 delay some time the sending it to the *Person* for whom it was
 written. He had it however at last, and having kept it by him
 several years, thought good to *Print* it, and *inscribe* it as in the
 Title-Page, both, without my *Consent* or *Knowledg*. And this is
 all the *Faction* which my Answerer so often complains of, as
 concerned in this Attempt against his Party: A *Faction* of
 ONE, like him, who was to make a *Rebellion* by himself: The
 strangest *Faction* sure that ever was. Why, 'twon't so much as
 make a *Conventicle*! And thus much, and I hope enough, for
 the occasion of my writing this *Letter*.

§. [7.] My *Correcter* charges me with delighting in *General*
Expressions, and an indistinct way of writing, (q) whereas if I (q) p. 11.
 declare my own particular *Knowledg* of Things, tho' with all
 possible *Tenderness* towards the *Persons*, I'm accus'd for *betraying*
private Conversation. I find 'tis a hard matter to please some
 People, especially if one write what's against their *Diana*: But
 yet I'll endeavor to gratifie them in this *Paper* more than in the
 former, and do promise to express my self as plainly and particu-
 larly as I can, tho' I doubt I shall have no Thanks for it, either
 from my Friend or his Party. I can't tell whom he means by
 the *Faction* he's so often angry with; but if he means all those
 who are for *Liturgy*, *Episcopacy* and *Monarchy*, and who cannot
 reflect

(p.) Since
 I wrote
 this, I got
 a sight of
 the Calves
 head An-
 them, and
 in that for
 the year
 1694. I
 find these
 Verses,
 Then to
 Puffs, Boys,
 to Puffs,
 Boys,
 Let's
 drink it
 off thus,
 Boys.
 on which,
 if I mistake
 not, this
 story will
 be a good
 Comment.

The Conscientious Dissenter not here mentioned.

reflect on the Murther of a Good King, and one of the best of Men without a deep and just Resentment ; I must tell him that he must include all the true Members of the Church of England, and has widen'd the Notion of Faction as much as he had before contracted it. On the other side, to deal plainly with him and his Patrons, whenever I have occasion to use the Word Faction, I mean —1st. All those who are for Root and Branch-work with Episcopacy and Monarchy. 2dly, All who are for Communicating with the Church in the Forenoon to serve any worldly Interest, and yet leaving it in the Afternoon to keep up and serve a Party. 3dly, and principally, --Those who gave occasion for all this Controversie,--who rail at King Charles the First (tho' my own Brother shou'd be amongst 'em) and either defend those barbarous Villains that murder'd him, or if they are a little more discreet, yet don't love to hear 'em treated as they deserve.--- This, I hope is Plain-dealing ; and if my Answerer can find any such who call themselves Church of England-men, let him give 'em no more Quarrel than those are to expect from me : Tho' this I'm sure of, that our Church gives 'em no more countenance and encouragement than it does Adulterers, or any other scandalous and notorious Offenders : And yet such there have been, who have shelter'd themselves under the Name of the Church, especially in times of Peace and Plenty, in the purest Communion, and even in the Apostolical Ages. As for the really Conscientious Dissenter, who out of meer Weakness abstains from what's in it self lawful, and commanded by a lawful Authority, and consequently continues in a material Schism, tho' I hope not in a formal one, I have nothing at present to say to him, but leave him to stand or fall to his own Master.

(4) p. 9. §. [8.] With this Distinction I shall venture on the First Head of his Defence, (r) wherein he complains that I mis-represent the Dissenters, —1st. —as Undutiful to the Church ; 2. as injurious to the Universities. As to the former, he says it turns on the Merits of the Cause ; and I'll grant as much, if they'll first own that they must be undutiful to the Church if they don't obey her in all things which they themselves acknowledge to be lawful ; and if the Party will make good what he promises for 'em in the next Lines “ That they ever did, and shall discountenance any undecent Words or Actions towards so venerable a Body, tho', as he modestly words it, they differ from the Dissenters.--- But here I fix my Foot ; and if I can't abundantly prove the direct contrary to what he affirms, I'll own my self as bad as he can represent me.

I affirm then, that this Faction among the Dissenters are so far from

from discountenancing any undecent Words or Actions towards the Church of England, that even at this time, when she had given 'em that *Toleration*, which she could never obtain from them when they were uppermost, which they now deny to our Brethren in Scotland, and for which they had never the *Ingenuity* to return the least Thanks, but are still as full of Complaints, and as unsatisfied as ever; (s) even now they both speak (s) Vide Calamy's Abridgement, &c. -See below -V. Def. and write the most reflecting things imaginable against her, notoriously abusing her Kindness, and perverting the Ends of their Toleration. I shall not insist on private Letters for the proof of this, tho' I know where they are (more than one) which have been lately sent, even from their Ministers, to dissuade Persons from Communicating with the Church of England, representing it as little better than Idolatry, or at least a very grievous Sin; But I shall begin with this Gentleman himself, and desire him to tell me whether these following Expressions are very decent and agreeable to that Respect which he pretends towards the Church of England. He more than insinuates that 'tis no better than a "Sanctuary for Lewdness. (t) He charges us for making (t) p. 7. "our Court to a Popish Tyrant, and for giving a Sanction to Tyranny; (u) which, to shew what a true Respect he has for the University, he fixes particularly on that Venerable Body. He (u) p. 11, 12. says, "That nothing appear'd satisfactory to us, but the Blood of the Dissenters: (w) That we have more than once made a Weathercock of Providence, and are now afraid of Abjuring a Traytor for fear of Abjuring It. (x) But is not all this aim'd at some Faction which assumes the Name of the Church of England? No, he can't so much as shelter himself under that thin Disguise, but sometimes forgets, and speaks out broadly his real Intentions: For he says, "That the publishing my Letter (which he thereby supposes to be done without my Knowledge) may serve as an Instance of the Kindness which the Church shews to a Conforming Dissenter. (y) Nor can I help the Nonsense of the last Expression, tho' I think no body can make it better, unless by a strong Figure, call'd Occasional Conformity. But he goes further, and affirms, "That nothing ever appear'd more just, than that God should suffer the Whole Church to be insulted by Papists, because of their Cruelty to the Dissenters. (z) And now he can go but one step higher, and that he does, when he says, "That the whole English Nation, whose Glory was retriev'd by Milton, had discountenanc'd the Latin Tongue, for fear we should learn to imitate the Ancient Virtue of the Greeks and Romans; (A) the former of whom, by the way, we are to suppose, writ in Latin. (A) p. 18. §. [9.]

§. [9.] I must beg pardon of my *Nameless Friend*, that I leave him for a while, to converse with some of my *Old Acquaintance*, and others of their Party, and enquire whether they are not as decent in their *Treatment* of the *Church of England* as this Gentleman himself can be: And the first I shall refresh his memory with, shall be Mr. T---'s Book which he calls, *An Answer to Dr. Sherlock's Cases, and Letter of Church-Communion*. He there rakes up the old *Popish Stories*, (I wonder he forgot that of the *Nag's-Head Ordination*) and would persuade his Reader that we have nothing but a *Parliamentary Religion*. He will scarce admit us to be so much as on an *equal Foot* with their *Gather'd Churches*, and the rest of his *Treatment* is agreeable to these Samples: He falls foul on all our greatest Divines, and spares 'em no more than the Papists have done: I'll give his own Words, that the World may judge whether I've wrong'd him.

To begin with Dr. *Sherlock*, he says, "That he seem'd to
 * Preface " bid *Public Defiance* to *Repentance*. * He Charges him with
 Page 3. *Hare-brain'd Loyalty*, *canting Abuse* of the Scripture, being pos-
 † Page 5. sessed with an *Evil Spirit* †, compares him to *Haman* ||,
 || Page 12. Charges him with gross *Confusion*, palpable *Darkness*, perpe-
 * B. p. 2. tual *Self-contradiction* *. " That his whole Discourse is like the
 " *Flames of the Infernal Pit*, where *Heat* and *Darkness* always
 " dwell together †, with many other Complements of the
 † Page 10. same nature. He makes many a *furious Pass* (to use his own
 Metaphor, p. 100.) with his *Bulrush Sword*, against the Arch-
 bishop of *York*, the Bishop of *Sarum*, the Bishop of *Glocester*,
 Bishop *King*, Dr. *Lucas*, Mr. *Norris*, Mr. *Dorrington*, and I
 || Pref. page know not how many more ||, and shews his Respect to the
 1, 8, 9, 10. *London Divines*, by calling 'em *Legion*, which without straining
 matters, is the same as if he had stil'd 'em a *parcel of Devils*.
 He'll neither allow us to have any *National Church Diffusive*
 nor *Representative*. " Here, says he, are *Pastors* and *People*,
 " *King*, *Lords* and *Commons* to *make a Church*, which must
 † Page 14. " be a *humane Creature*, not a *true Church*; † therefore I doubt
 the *Presbyterians* themselves would not be a *true Church*, if
 they should have the *Mishap* to be *established* by the *Laws* of
 this *Realm*; and he has shut out all their *Brethren* in *Scotland*,
 for the same Reason: He denies what one would think were
 pretty evident, *viz.* That every *National Church* has *Authority*
 over her *own Members*, to prescribe the *Rules of Worship*; which
 I suppose, is not done by the *Danish*, *Swedish*, *French*, *Dutch*, nor
 even by their own *Directory*; which frightened so many of them
 from administering the *Sacrament* *. Again, Page 38, " They
 * Page 20. have

"King and Parliament are the *Makers* of the Church of Eng-
 "land, and have a *just Power* to rule their own Creature. Now
 "they have granted us (the *Dissenters*) an *Act of Toleration*; and
 "the Collection of all the Churches, whether *Conformists* or
 "Nonconformists, are the Church of England: Authority has
 "made them a Church; but the same Authority has given us a
 "Permission to form our selves into Churches; So that we stand
 "on the same ground, tho' (thank 'em) not on the level with 'em.
 || To conclude, he charges those who are for Episcopal Go- || P. 38. 39.
 vernment, not only in Scotland, but in England too, as notori-
 rious *Schismatics* from the Catholick Church, because they re-
 fuse *Occasional Communion* with the *Dissenters*; and says, that
 on the *Act of Uniformity* many of the People deserted their
 (Dissenting) Teachers, and repair'd to the *New Teachers*, who,
 he says, were, in truth, the *Seperatists*, and gather'd *Chur-*
ches out of Churches (B). Thus far Mr. T-----, and the (B) Page
 best Reason I can give, why a Man of Sense should write in 45. 109.
 this manner, is what he gave himself, *Who would have*
thought it!

§ [10.] I've one or two more in Bank: The next may be
 Mr. Calamy in his Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life. He was
 once thought a *Man of Temper*; but how well he now answers
 that Character, and how dangerous a *Temptation* 'tisto be *Head*
of a Party, we may learn from what follows: For he's not
 content with *ripping up* what hapned long since, during the
 Times of *Confusion* and *Rebellion*, which his own Party has so
 often desir'd, and that with a great deal of *Reason*, might be
 bury'd in *Oblivion*; but he has taken the pains to *graft* upon it,
 and has *suck'd up*, and *spatter'd out* all the *Venom* which both
Extremes have vented against the Church of England. He joyns
 the *Old Accusations* of the *Presbyterians* and *Brownists*, with
 the *New Scandals* of the *Jacobites* and *Papists*, as Mr. T--- does
 before him, who has taken *several Pages* out of the Writings
 of the *Latter*. Where he finds any Argument bear hard against
 his Party, he does all he can to find a *Buttress* to support a sink-
 ing Cause: But where the *Blessed Martyr* is *blacken'd* with the
 most odious *Aspersions*, tho' I can't think him so mean an *Hi-*
storian as not to have seen what has been given from *Authentic*
Memoirs as a compleat Answer, * he can't spare a *Word* in his
Defence, but leaves his *Memory* to be treated as barbarously by * Cox's
 Posterity, as his Sacred Person was by his *Rebellious Subjects* *Hist. &c.*
 while he was *living*. He falls foul on the *Oath of Canonical O-*
bedience, the taking whereof, he says, "would be a *concurring*

- (C) Calamy's *Abridgment*, p. 534. to overthrow the Pastoral Office. (C) On our Ecclesiastical Canons, on our Rubrics, and that Excellent Order, which, if the Iniquity of our Times did not hinder its Execution, wou'd go a great length towards the Recovery of Discipline. --- That of the Ministers keeping scandalous Persons from the Communion, and giving an Account of it in 14 days to the Ordinary. (D) He defends the Nonconformists Refusal to abjure the Covenant "left this should tempt the King and his Subjects to incur the Guilt of Perjury, or harden 'em under their Guilt : and adds, "that the Covenant could not be prov'd unlawful (E). This, I confess, is plain-dealing, but was scarce expected at this time of day, especially from Mr. Calamy : Nor can he excuse himself by his being an *Abridger*, since he leaves out whatever was not for his turn, as we may shortly have occasion to observe in a more particular manner. And in a few Pages after, he reproaches all Ranks and Qualities, Clergy and Laity of the Church of England, for joyning a Foreign Prince whom they had called in to their Assistance against the Person of their Sovereign (F). In the Case of the Ejected Ministers, he brings several Texts from the Acts of the Apostles, and other places, to prove the Necessity of their preaching, even when the Magistrate forbids ; as if the Case were still the same that 'twas in the Apostles time, and we were all Heathens. (G) He owns indeed, that the Patron's Presentation and Bishop's Institution, &c. gives the Clerk a Legal Right to the Tythes and Profits ; but pleads the People are still at liberty to chuse and follow what Pastor they please : As if a faithful Shepherd cou'd be satisfy'd with the Fleece, let the Flock go whither they wou'd (H) ; tho' this Practice must needs breed eternal confusion, when the common People are so very improper Judges in these Cases ; and they can't but be aware that this Principle will satisfy the Conscience in joyning with a Jesuit, as well as with any of the United Brethren. --- But without this Plea, what becomes of Nonconformity ? I'm almost weary of following him further, and therefore shall refer the Reader to p. 666. where he acts the Jacobite, and brings the Arguments of that Party to defend their Schism ; at which he might well be ready, because they are for the most part borrow'd from the Dissenters Quiver. He represents the Loyal Clergy in their Words, "as a pack of Jolly Swearers, who betray'd their Consciences for large Preferments (I) and a great deal more to the same purpose.
- (E) p. 538, 539.
- (F) p. 542.
- (G) p. 545.
- (H) p. 547.
- (I) p. 665.

§ [11] But all this is the height of Complement, in comparison of what I find in one of their late famous Writers, in his "Letter of Advice to the Churches of the Nonconformists in the English

The Letter of Advice to the Dissenters.

II

ish Nation (*). Whatever Countrey has the honour of his Birth, his Prefacer assures us -- "That he's a *Learned and Holy* * Printed for Baldwin, A.D. 1700.
Author, seeking Truth and Peace ;---and indeed he takes an admirable way to find 'em, his main drift being to persuade the Nonconformists that they are *better Church of England-men*, he might have made the *Bull* a little plainer, and said better *Conformists*, than the *Conformists* themselves are. (K) He quotes from (K) *Letter of Baxter*,-- "that they are the *soundest, most judicious, most conscio- of Advice,*
nable, most peaceable, true and honourable parts of the Church P. 3.
of England, and that to deny this is an effect of *Ignorant Ar-*
rogance, and a *Shame* to the *Speaker*. (L) He says that by the (L) p. 3.
Act of Indulgence, the Nonconformists are as much *allow'd*, as
 those that conform ; and are by *Act of Parliament, Legal*
Parts of the Church of England : and that by *Law* their *Church-*
es are not only *protected*, but *rewarded*, with the *Exemption* of
 their *Ministers* from *Civil Incumbrances* (M) : which, tho' true (M) p. 7.
 enough, one would have thought they should scarce have *boast-*
ed of : Nor can any sure, be so bold as to deny that they
 ought to be *rewarded* for their *Separation*, by the *Crown*, the *Lords*
Spiritual and Temporal, and the *Commons* : For what reason can
 be given, that the *Dissenting Ministers* shou'd pay *Taxes* to the
 utmost of their *Yearly Incomes*, when they are at so *vast a charge*
 in *collecting* them ! and when they pay such *heavy First-Fruits*
 to the *Crown*, besides *Annual Tenths* ! Is it not notorious, that
 even those *Clergymen* who *fancy'd* they were of the *Church*
 of *England*, because *Episcopally ordain'd* and *instituted*, &c. did
 (once or twice) find that *Partiality* as to be excus'd from
 the *Royal Aid*, tho' their *Income* amounted to that vast
 Sum of *thirty or forty pounds per annum* ! And can we think
 that any of the *Dissenting Ministers* have any more allow'd 'em
 by their *Congregations*, tho' such *peaceable, true and honourable*
Sons and Fathers of the Church of England ! And is there not
 much greater *Reason* to excuse 'em from bearing any of these
public Burdens, or for finding their part in the *Militia*, than can
 be pleaded for the others, especially if all be true that follows ?
 For this *Author* calls 'em not only *Arminians*, but even *Pelagians* ;
 and says there are *Thousands* (which must be at least *Two Thou-*
sand) that are *Pelagians*, and yet are *benefic'd* in the *Church of*
England (N), which, no doubt, he knows to be *true*, or else he (N) p. 8.
 would not have *asserted* it ; tho' those who shou'd be pretty well
 acquainted with 'em, can find none of 'em. He says, that with-
 out a *Miracle*, (which we are scarce now to expect) the *Doctrine*
 of the *Church of England* will be preserv'd no where but in

- (O) p. 2. the Churches of the Nonconformists ; and he speaks doubtfully of its being preserv'd *even there* (O). He means, I suppose, the rigid *Predestinarian Principles*, which are neither asserted by our 17th Article, nor were ever held by the *Ch. of England*, and which are now generally left by the *Dissenting Ministers* themselves ; most of whom go the *middle way*, and are no more than *Amyraldians* or *Baxterians*. He charges our Church, that "some time or other all things were to be put into the hands of a Party, who in compliance with some *secret Articles*, were
- (P) p. 13. "to effect an *accomodation* with Rome (P). That a *House* built "merely upon *Ceremonies* (by which 'tis plain he means the Church of England, tho' with a most *unjust* and *scandalous* Imputation) "cannot stand ; but will one day suffer a Storm,
- (Q) p. 15. "wherein it will fall, and great must be the Fall thereof (Q). Nay, to make sure Work, he defends the *Disuse of the Lord's-prayer* it self among the *Dissenters*, which I hope they will not hereafter deny ; and teaches 'em how to *answer* those who *Object* this against 'em ; and finds fault with the very *Words* of the Prayer, as 'tis in our *Translation*, and is used throughout all *England* ; so 'tis no Wonder the rest of our *Liturgy* should not please 'em. And 'tis remarkable, that he objects against that *Petition* "For-
 "give us our *Trespases*, as we forgive them that trespass a-
 (R) p. 19. "gainst us (R) ; the latter part of which, I know not how it comes about, is left out in a *Form* of the *Scotch Lord's-prayer*, which a few years since was printed at *London* among many others. He indeed does no less than charge our *whole Church*, and by a direct consequence, all our *Protestant Bishops and Martyrs* (not *Laud* only) who either compos'd or approv'd and us'd the *Liturgy*, with falsifying the very *Words* of our *Saviour's Prayer* ; as I have seen a *Popish Catechism*, printed not long since, which accuses us for making *Additions* to the same, by putting in the *Doxology* ; which, because they have lost in their *Vulgar*, they wou'd fain have it struck out of the *Original*. And the *Alterations* in this *Petition*, our Author can ascribe to no less than some sort of *Infatuation* : tho' whether his *Writing these* things, and the *Publication* of them by the Party, do not really argue a very high degree of it, must be left to the impartial Reader. But he han't done yet ; for he makes a loud Complaint "That the *Parish-Presbyters* are stript of all power to *OR-*
 (S) p. 21. *DAIN*, to *CONFIRM*, and to *EXCOMMUNICATE* (S). And is not this a great *Hardship* upon them, and a grievous *Injustice* against them ! He says-- "that we can't hinder any, "tho' never so *ungodly*, from the *Sacrament* : That the *Canons* and

“ and Rubric have abundantly provided that the Ad-
 “ ministrator shall be incapable of *Excluding the wickedest*
 “ *Wretch alive*: (T) God rebuke him! convert and for- (T) p. 22.
 give him! For 'tis notorious that we are positively enjoined to
 do this in our Rubric, before the Communion: (U) This very (U) v. § 10.
 thing is objected by Mr. Calamy against our Rubric, in the Place
 above mentioned; so that 'tis plain, Their Witnesses can't
 agree together. Nay, we do actually *repel* scandalous Offend-
 ers; and should oftner do it, if their *Schism* did not stand read-
 dy with open Arms to receive them: But on the other side,
 he says, our Canons have actually *excommunicated* the best of
 Princes; because they pass'd an Act for abolishing Prelacy in Scot-
 land; (W) and adds, “ That the Nonconformists will not be (W) p. 23.
 “ dishonored by being Partakers with them, in suffering such
 “ Contradictions of Sinners; and that while the Church conti-
 “ nues to offer such Affronts to Majesty, they may well decline
 “ to be any Part of it, till they repent, and publicly revoke
 “ these their wicked Canons. (X) He says, That Party who (X) p. 24.
 “ made the Canons, (and consequently all we who have
 “ oblig'd our selves to obey them) are convicted of a treason-
 “ able Plot by Mr. Baxter, for attempting a Revolt unto a for-
 “ reign Jurisdiction, and are perfidious Builders of Babel: (Y) (Y) p. 27.
 “ and that our Island will be in danger of becoming a French
 “ Province, except the Nonconformists be accounted better Parts
 “ of the Church of England than those who are for the
 “ Canons, and except the Sacramental Test be therefore taken off.
 (Z) And in the same Page he breaks out into a zealous Ex- (Z) p. 28.
 clamation, and perswades all the Dissenters to resolve with what need
 the Psalmist, “ O my soul come not into their secret! unto their as- of that,
 sembly, my tongue, be not thou united! Tho' whether those Ex- when Oc-
 pressions would not with much greater Propriety be applied casual Con-
 to Men of his own Principles, we shall see by his Close, where formity will
 he shows his Foot, and speaks out plainly, and therefore I shall save us?
 give it at large: “ Let not the Church of England, says he,
 “ become a Name of such treasonable Importance, that it must
 “ belong to none but that Faction whose Religion lies in Saint-
 “ ing their Martyr, Charles the First, whose Reign was spent
 “ in plotting and contriving to undermine, and subvert the
 “ Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the English Nation; and
 “ who, (notwithstanding the Sham of the Icon Basilike) it's
 “ fear'd, would have been another John* Basilovitz, if he had
 “ prospered in his War against the Parliament. (a) Thus far Have a
 this learned and holy Author, with all the Modesty, Prudence, Care not
 and Gratitude of his Party. What handsome Returns for their Pun.
 Liberty (a) p. 28 &c

Liberty! What *fair* Interpretations! How far are they from *insulting* the Church, or *abusing* this *Kindness!* How highly ever did they, ever will they *discountenance* any *undecent* Words or *Actions* towards so *venerable a Body*, which we are now taught consists of their own *venerable Selves?* tho' this still makes it the greater Marvel, "How they should come to differ from them!" (b) It is not my present Business to *wipe* off all this *Filib*, and *refute* these *Slanders*, which I hope will be done by some who have more *Abilities*, better *Opportunities*, and better *Leisure*. 'Tis sufficient for my purpose, that from these Instances, among many more which might be given, 'twill be easie to judge whether this Author and his Party have behaved themselves with *Decency* or *common Civility* towards the Church of *England*. But before I close this Head, I must clear myself, who am brought in as a Witness to the Truth of that Assertion, because I give a *good* Character of Mr. *Morton*; (c) to whom therefore, I hope, they will not say I am *Ungrateful*. But what a strange Reason is this, to contradict what I had before advanc'd; when I add, almost in the same Line, "That this Character would agree to very *few* others of that Party with whom I was acquainted: To this my Antagonist replies, with a full Affirmation, "That this is the *Temper* and *Spirit* of all the *Tutors* he knows, or by just Enquiry can hear of. If this were true, What is't to the Party? But let it be granted he *knows* of no other, (tho' his Acquaintance amongst 'em be now much larger than mine) I'm sure I do, or (at least) lately did; and think they are still *Living*: But let that rest, (unless I am call'd upon to prove it) while I wait upon him to the latter Part of his Defence, under his first Head.

§ [12.] "That the Dissenters are not *injurious to the Universities*, but have ever cultivated a just Esteem of those honorable Societies, and are sorely griev'd that they can't have their Education in them without the Expence of their (d) *Consciences*."

As to the first Part of his Assertion, He'll hardly be able to persuade the World that it has been no *Injury* to the Universities to drain away such *considerable Numbers*, several of the *Nobility*, many of the *Gentry*, who would have sought their Education there, had they not been intercepted by these *sucking Academys*. Mr. *Galamy* gives us an Account of 300 who had been under Mr. *Frankland* only: (e) I scarce think there could have been fewer at Mr. *Morton's*, tho' I have not the

(b) Def.
p. 9.

(c) Def.
p. 9.
p. 6. of my
Letter.

(d) Def.
p. 9.

(e) A-
bridgment
p. 425.

Catalogue by me: Those in the *West*, the Defender himself tells us, have been *numerous*; (f) so that on the whole, by a (f) p. 8. modest Computation, there must have been some THOU- of Defence SANDS this way educated, since the Return of K. Charles, besides those who have been at *foreign Universities*, which have not been a *few*, and their *Numbers* are daily *encreasing*. Nor is it easie to imagine why this Gentleman should say, in the Name of his Party, "That 'twas their Grief they could not " have their Education in our Universities; (g) when he had (g) p. 9. said, but two Pages before, "That no Man living could per- " form *Academical Readings* better than 'twas done by their " *private Tutors*: Tho', on second Thoughts, I confess there may be as many *good Reasons* for their Grief, as there are *Good-Fellowships* in both the Universities: Not but that if they should be admitted there, 'tis to be suppos'd they would bring with them all those *Exhibitions* which they now enjoy at their own *private Academies*, without the Trouble of a *Commission* for *charitable Uses* to recover 'em.

§ [13.] But still "They have a *just Esteem* for those " *honorable Societies*: It may be so, but then they are very *unhappy* in their way of *expressing* it; for (besides what has been declared in my Letter) (h) this Gentleman takes the Pains to *answer himself* in the very next Words, where (h) Letter p. 11. he says, "That the Universities impose *impossible Oaths*, nay " such as almost all do *acknowledge* are *impossible* to be kept. (i) Wherein he fairly charges those *Honorable Societies* (i) p. 9. with the Guilt of *down-right perjury*; since there's none of of Defence their *Members* but must either have impos'd, or taken 'em, and many have done *both*: Not to add, that the same Complement will reach not only the *greatest Part* of the *Lords and Commons*, but even most of the *Gentry* in *England*. In the mean time, How comes it to pass that *both* the *Universities*, are now guilty of *Perjury*, and yet were perfectly innocent when Dr. Owen and ----- were Vice-Chancellors, tho' I'm informed the same *Oaths* for *substance* were required that are now? I well remember, that this was one of the *Bugbears* which they used to set up, when they suspected any of us were inclin'd to the Universities; and therefore I was particularly careful when I went thither, before I took the *Matriculation Oath*, to inform myself in this *Matter*. I was always so weak as to think that the *Measure* of the *Obligation*, and the *Interpretation* of an *Oath*, was to be taken from the *Power* that impos'd it, which

Of the Dissenters being turbulent and factious.

which best knows the *Sense* and *Extent* of it; for I can oblige myself to no more by taking an Oath than the *Imposer* intended: Now the University (I speak chiefly of *Oxford*, whereof I had the Honour to be (too little while) a small Member) has given a large and *solemn Explication* of the Oath which is required of those who enter there, and this is printed at the End of our *Statute-Books*, which all are to have that are admitted; wherein 'tis declared, as the *Sense* of the University, "That some of those Statutes are sufficiently fulfilled by the Payment of such Pains and Mulcts as are there appointed for the Breach of them; those who take the Oaths being thereby obliged either to do such a thing, or to suffer what's equivalent in the *Sense* of the *Imposers*; and if they pay those Mulcts, tho' they should not exactly fulfil every Statute, the University declares they have done all that was required in their Oath, and are not guilty of Perjury. Indeed, if they could prove the Matter of any Oath impossible whereby the Scholars are expressly oblig'd to the Observation of such Statutes, under pain of Perjury, or by their Faith given to the University, or in any *Affertory Oaths* which are requir'd of 'em, they wou'd say something to the purpose: But when the contrary is evidently true, as appears by the express Declaration and Explication of the University, if their Accusers can't blush, they ought at least to be silent; especially when there have been several amongst 'em who have not been so very tender of their own Oaths and Faiths, even in the most Substantial things, given to the Universities (k), and others of 'em have had as little regard to their Subscriptions, and Oaths of Canonical Obedience.

(k) Letter
P. 9.

And as for *Cambridge*, the case is much the same that 'tis in the other University.

§ [14.] In the second Paragraph of his Defence, he's very angry "that I charg'd the Dissenters with being *turbulent* and *factious* Persons (l). I have review'd the Pages he there quotes, and can't find the Words, but the Thing was true enough, as to many of 'em, at least while I liv'd amongst 'em; and I wish, I heartily wish, that they may be since alter'd for the better, and that they may for the future deserve that favourable Opinion which I see some Persons of note and worth have entertain'd of 'em: Be that as it will, my Business is *Master of Fact*, and it only lies upon me to make good what I've asserted concerning them, who have been better acquainted with 'em and their Writings than many others.

(l) Def.
P. 10.

§ [15.]

§ [15.] I shall pass by his particular *Complements* to the Ch. of England in the same Page, and come to what he *answers* to my Charge [of the *Dissenters* entertaining while I was amongst 'em, almost universally, a mortal aversion to the Episcopal Order, and that very few but equally abhorr'd Monarchy.] To the former he has a merry Answer; for he says, "the Charge is diverting, and a great Discovery as to the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* (m): I hope then I shan't (m) Def. be put to the proof of what he so fairly acknowledges, tho' at other p. 10. times, especially in their public Writings, and among their most plausible Authors, they pretend not to be against the Order of Episcopacy it self, but only against the *Lords Bishops*, and *Diocesan Episcopacy*: And yet I can hardly think they would have disown'd Mr. Baxter or Dr. Owen, if the King shou'd have made 'em *Lords*, provided they had only been *Lords Presbyters*. But tho' they acknowledge this themselves, I care not if I give 'em a little Overweight. This Aversion, he says, is not against the very Persons of the Bishops (n): Their Persons then, it seems, are oblig'd to this (n) *ibid.* Gentleman; and if they will but drop their Order, they may have the good Word of the *United Brethren*. But what will become of 'em, if they will not, as we are told was requir'd of the *Episcopal Clergy* in Scotland, confess the damnable Sin of *Prelacy*? Then they must not take it amiss if they are treated with that plainness which is so common among their Antagonists, whereof there's an Instance in relation to *Archbishop Tillotson* himself; of whom they have said in my hearing, "That Dr. Tillotson was a good Man before he was made Bishop; but now the Bishop had spoil'd the Man. Nor is this the only Instance I can give of their Civility to the very Persons of our Bishops; for there are several in Mr. Baxter's Account of the *Savoy-Conference*, improv'd in Mr. Calamy's Abridgment (o); wherein 'tis evident that there's some in- (o) *Baxter's Life, Part I. p. 338.* vidious and malicious Slur on almost all the Bishops which were then present, their very Persons, and not their Order only. "Carlisle was no better than a Deceiver; for his Face spoke quite contrary Abridgm. cap. 8. to his Actions. — Cosins was of a Rustic Wit and Carriage, and therefore he and the *Presbyterians* were soon acquainted, and pretty familiar. — Saunderson was old, exasperated and peevish. — Gunning forward, often over-running himself, and sticking at nothing. But * Pierson had the hardest fortune, who, tho' he argu'd strongly, and yet calmly and mildly, he must be of their side in his heart, and then 'tis easie to guess at his Sincerity. These are the best Characters they can afford to those who were the *Ornaments* of our Church and Nation, while they exalt all of their own stamp to *Saints & Confessors*. And if any of the *Bartholomew Folk* were so flamingly scandalous that they could not be openly defended without notoriously exposing their

* I find by Mr. Calamy that he was not then a Bishop.

(f) p. 281. Cause there, as in the Case of Mr. B--(p) in Calamy's Abridgment, a *Veil* is to be drawn over- "The Faults of Gentle Love, as Mrs. Behn calls 'em. We are directed to a Sermon of Mr. How's concerning *Charity in relation to the Faults of other Men*. Mr. B--- is clear to Posterity, and all's as well as ever.

§ [16.] I shall give but two Instances more at present, tho' I've many in reserve, of the notorious *partiality* of these Writers, and their exceeding *Tenderness* towards the vilest of Men, when they can but come under the *Title* of Nonconformists: 'Tis in the Account they give of that infamous Firebrand, John Goodwin, who had been one of the Cursed Cabal for taking away the Life of the Lord's-Anointed, and had the Impudence to appear in print in defence of that Fact, with his brazen Picture in the Frontispiece: And of Dr. Tho. Goodwin, who was one of those very Men who blasphemously assur'd Cromwell but a few hours before he went to his own Place "That he, and some of his Fellow-Saints had been seeking God for him, and that he had given 'em "his Life, because he had other Service for him to do.] But not one Syllable of this in Mr. Calamy's Account of the Ejected Ministers (tho' indeed the first was never in,) nor of this forementioned villainous Defence among his Writings (q). He artfully throws all this behind the Scenes: The hardest Word that he can give him, is "that he was a warm Man, and cou'd agree with no body: But adds, to ballance this, "That he had a clear Head, a penetrating Spirit, (a marvellous Dexterity in descanting on the Scriptures.) And what wonder, when he there adds "That he was "so conscientious as to boggle at the Act of Uniformity, and liv'd and dy'd a Nonconformist.

(q) p. 219.

§ [17.] Before I close this Head of their *Civilities* to Episcopacy, I must remind 'em of one further Instance of it, and that not in those times, when, as this Author pleads they were exasperated by the Execution of the Laws against 'em: But either in the height of the Popish Endeavours to destroy us, or since K. William's Accession to the Throne; and that is, several Lampoons which have been made against the Bishops by some of their Party, and hugg'd and admir'd by the rest. The Verses I can produce, the Authors I can name, if they deny the Fact: Nor will any of their former Excuses now avail them.

§ [18.] As for the latter part of this Head, wherein I blame the Faction for "having as great an Aversion for Monarchy as they have for Episcopacy; had my Answerer been ingenuous, he might have made the same Reply serve which he had shap'd to the former, "That this is diverting indeed, and a Notable Discovery, that "Presbyterians and Independents don't love Monarchy. But he goes

goes on, and makes a Query "Whether I had acquir'd *Learning* enough at the Universities to know what *Monarchy* is (r)? Now (r) Def. this is a little unreasonable, that he should suspect I could find a-ny *Learning* in Oxford or Cambridge, tho' it were but enough to give the English of two Greek Words, when he knows they had monopoliz'd all before at their private Academies: Tho' the best on't is, I had staid some Years there before my Apostacy; and if I did not forget all I had read in Milton, and the other Excellent Authors whom he so much admires; as very a Smatterer as I am, I could hardly be ignorant of what every Freshman amongst 'em knows. However, to put the Matter beyond Controversie, in answer to their Question, "What sort of Monarchy 'twas which they abhorr'd while I liv'd with 'em? I reply in short, "That 'twas ALL MONARCHY, all sorts of single Rule, they being in their avow'd Principles for a Commonwealth, and preferring that Form of Government before any other. And this I do not only solemnly affirm as to the Generality of those with whom I then convers'd when we cou'd discourse freely with one another; but can appeal for the Truth of it to the Ingenuity of any who at the same time had an equal Intimacy with 'em. But 'tis not Protestation but Fact, which I desire shou'd satisfie the World. And in order to clear this Controversie, I only desire my Opponent to ask my old Friends at Mr. Morton's whether they have ever seen a Manuscript call'd EUTAXIA, and whether they know the Author of 't? and when he comes therein to debate concerning the best Form of Government, and produces the Arguments on both sides; I desire to know what Form 'tis he at last inclines to, and settles in his New State: and if it be not a Commonwealth in opposition and preference to Monarchy, I must own my self very much mistaken.

§ [19.] The next part of my Charge which he endeavors to fence against, is, "That the King-killing Doctrines were generally received and defended among us, and the barbarous Murther of K. Charles I. avowedly and frequently vindicated. He says, "I ought here to have been very cautious of my Expressions, and sure of my Charge, and that I have given a true taste of the Spirit of a New Convert. In answer, if on the Review of these Expressions I could find any thing in 'em that was but doubtful, I should think it my duty to acknowledge it: For I own that a public Charge ought not to be brought against any Man, much less against a whole Party, unless the thing be very clear and evident: But on my present Reflection on these Matters, I can find no reason either to revoke or mitigate my Assertions; and to requite 'em for their Complement about the Spirit of a new Convert, I must tell 'em that I question whether ever I should have been so happy as to have been a Convert at all, if

(s) p. 11.
of Defence

these wicked and damnable Principles before-mentioned had not open'd my Eyes : And I hope what I have to add on the same Subject, mayn't be altogether *useless* towards the undeceiving of others.

(1) Def. p. 11. § [20.] He says, "they have another Answer to this Charge (1). I can find none he has given yet : and what follows, is only an Heap of *Wise Questions*. The first is, "whether the Doctrines receiv'd among my old Friends were *Mariana's* or *Charnock's*? As to *Charnock*, He's very sagacious, for he makes him a *Traitor* by Prophecy, and would have him *hang'd, drawn & quarter'd* a dozen years before he was indicted! Whether they were *Mariana's* or no, I can't be positive, because I never read him; but I'm sure they were *John Goodwin's* and *Hugh Peters's*, and others whom I cou'd name; and embrac'd and defended by all of the same *Footmark* in that and the present Age : To which this Writer does not shew any extream aversion, when he goes on to ask that Question "Whether 'twas that famous "Law of the Romans by which they rewarded him with peculiar "Glory, that kill'd a Tyrant? For when Persons once come to applaud such a Law, 'tis but clapping the Name of Tyrant on the best Prince in the World, and this both approves and canonizes his Murtherers, as was notoriously done by *Peters* and his Gang in the Case of our Gracious Sovereign already mention'd. And what if these "Principles were not taught by our Tutor, or defended in our (u) Def. ib. "Schools (u)? They might for all that, as I've said already, be generally receiv'd and defended by the Party, as they really were in common Conversation.

§ [21.] His next is a bold Stroke, for he says in the Name of the Dissenters, "We universally abhor the King-Killing Doctrine, and will joyn issue with the whole Party in Defence of our Loyalty; and do averr that it can't be prov'd, That the Dissenters (considered as a Party) ever once drew Sword against Common Authority, or countenanced those that did (w) Ibid. "it. (w) 'Tis not difficult to guess at the Distinctions behind which he here lurks, in hopes they'll secure him and his Friends in one of the *hardiest* Assertions that was ever advanc'd by any of their Party; and they must be these two, First, They (that is the Dissenters) never drew Sword against Common Authority, because not against King, Lords, and Commons: 2dly. They never did this, consider'd as a Party; that is, taking all the Dissenters together.

§ [22.] First, their old Plea may be here suppos'd, That the bloody War in the last Age, wherein their Party was so deeply engag'd, was not against Common Authority, because not against King, Lords, and Commons, but for the Parliament, as they call'd it, against the King: Nay, they'll scarce own they ever fought against the

the King; who in his *politic Capacity*, as *Scott* argued in the *House*, neither was nor could be so much as a *Prisoner*; tho' in his *personal*, he was both *imprison'd* and *murder'd*. Perhaps they'll still plead they took up *Arms for the King*, as the *Covenant* expressly declares; that *Covenant* which we see they now defend a-new, tho' 'tis as *dead*, and *rotten*, as *old Oliver*. I wonder they don't add that they fought for the *King* too at *Naseby*, *Edg-hill*, *Marston-moor*, *Langport*, *Winsby*, &c. (at some of which Fights *Mr. Baxter* was present) ^{(x) See his} and if they had *kill'd* him too, as they did many *Thousands* of his *faithful Subjects*, might they not with the same *Modesty*, and *Sincerity*, have boasted their *Loyalty*, and that they universally abhorred the *King-Killing Doctrine*? And was not this the very *Plea* that the *Regicides themselves* insisted on at their *Tryals*? "That what they did was by the *supream Authority* of the *Nation*; tho' 'twas with *invincible Strength* of *Reason* confuted, and over-ruled by those great *Persons* who then sat on the *Bench*. But here they'll fly to their second *Retrenchment*,

Life.

§ [23.] "That consider'd as a *Party*, they acted nothing against *Common Authority*; which is to avoid what is laid to their *Charge* in *Relation* to the *King's Death*, when they had not only *imprison'd* Him, their *Liege-Lord*, but forc'd away most of the *House of Commons*, and the *poor Remainder* voted the *Lords* *useless*: And here the *two Sticks* fell a *cudgeling* one another, and the *Presbyterians* think to leave the *Independents*, as they did them, and to lay all the *Odium* of the *Fact* upon 'em; and their *modern* as well as *ancient Advocates*, being aware that here was no *common Authority*, and scarce the *shadow* of it on their side, their *Plea* is, "That 'twas only a *Part* of the *Dissenters* who engaged in this *Matter*, not the *Body* of the *Dissenters* considered as a *Party*; by which *Plea*, if allowed, 'tis easie to defend not only the *Papists*, but even the *Body* of the *Irish*, from the *Guilt* of that horrid *Massacre* whereof we so justly accuse 'em: For was it ever objected that every *individual Person* of the *Dissenters* was for the *King-Killing Doctrine*? Or can it be said, that those who were concerned in this *Fact* were not *Dissenters*? Or did their being form'd into an *Army* make them otherwise? Or were there any others openly engaged in it? Or were not the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* before this, most *strictly united* in one *common Cause* as they are now *again united*, and therefore must be considered as *one Body*? Or did they then fall out before they came to divide the *Spoils* of *Episcopacy* and *Royalty*, and the *younger Brother* out-witted the *elder*, or, as they used to distinguish themselves, the *godly Party* proved too hard for the *seber Party*? How often were the *Presbyterians* told at the *Beginning* of the *War*, that this

would certainly be the *End* on't? Nor was any less intended than the *Destruction* of Church and State from the very first, by those who were the *Contrivers* of the *Troubles*, and the grand *In-cendiaries* of the Nation; tho' as my Lord *Clarendon* says in his History (y), "They who made in their *Hearts* the most destructive Vows against the Church, durst not at first communicate their bloody Wishes to their best Friends, whose Authority gave them the greatest Credit.

(y) Part I. p. 183. § [24.] I know Mr. *Baxter* endeavours to avoid this Charge, and to lay the blame of the War itself on the *Episcopal Party*; (z) Part 3. of his life, p. III. but his first Part was so far off, that he seems to have forgot what he had there advanced; (a) "That 'twas principally the Differences about religious Matters that filled up the Parliaments Army, and put Resolution and Valour into their Soldiers. He goes on, "The Generality of the People of the Land, I say not ALL, (nor we neither) who were then called *Puritans*, the main Body of this sort of Men, both *Preachers* and *People* adhered to the Parliament: Nay, he gives a notable Reason for it towards the End of the Page; "That there is an *universal* and *radicated* Enmity between the *carnal* and the *spiritual*, and this found in England as well as in other Places; as he that was born after the *Flesh*, did persecute him that was born after the *Spirit*; even so it was here: The *Carnal* and *Profane*, the *Fornicators*, *Drunkards*, and *Swearers*, &c. hated them that reprov'd them; this Difference was *universal*, their *Enmity* *implacable*; farther than common Grace abated it, or *special* Grace cured it: This, says he, was the notable Division thro' the Land. As fair a Declaration, after their way, as need be desired: There might be however, 'tis hoped, some Two or Three of the King's Side, such as *Usher*, *Andrews*, *Saunderson*, *Hammond*, &c. (and why not many Thousands more?) that might have their *Enmity* cured or abated by *special* Grace, or at least by that Grace which is *common* to the very *Heathens*; a little more of which latter, if Mr. *Baxter's* Friends had then enjoyed, it would have kept them from such Actions as an honest Pagan would have blushed to have heard mentioned.

§ [25.] But tho' the Case was so plain now, yet it seems it was strangely altered in a few Years after; for when his Party was charged with the Disorders of those Times, he says, "That most of the *Nonconforming Ministers* never medled with the Wars; most of those who were of the Parliament side, were conformable, both *Officers* and *Ministers*; he knew not of Two Nonconformists that were for them in a whole County. (b) And does not this tally well with what I have just before quoted from the same Author and the same Book? What is become now of

(b) Part I. p. 34. Part 3. f. 149.

The Petitions against Episcopacy.

23

the *Notable Division*, the *Flesh* and the *Spirit*, the *Preachers* and *People* before mentioned? The *Case* you see is altered, and they are all vanished. One would scarce have thought, that in *this Age*, while not a few of the *Actors* and *Sufferers* in that *fatal War* may be still living, there should be any found of that *Assurance* to deny that to the *Dissenters*, which they have accounted their *greatest Glory*. 'Tis scarce the *shadow* of an *Excuse*, that they were not all *Nonconformists* before the *War*; no, they were honest *Occasional Conformists*, as long as they *dared* be no otherwise; nor are they to be blamed for not pulling off the *Masque* till things were ripe, and they could do it with *safety*. Is it not most notorious, both from our *Chronicles* and the *Concessions* of the *Party*, that the *Puritans* began the *Tumults*, as those the *Wars*? Have we not the *King's Word* for it, "That the true *State* and *Drift* of the " *Parliaments* raising an *Army* against him, their *Commissions* " bearing date before his, was, as they declared by their *Propo-* " *sitions*, chiefly for the *Abolition* of *Episcopal*, and *Establishment* of " *Presbyterian Government*? If they deny this, Can they deny their own *Hands* and *Marks*? The *Petition* which was presented to the *Parliament* by *Alderman Pennington*, subscribed by *Twenty Thousand Men*, *Inhabitants of London*, who required in plain *Terms* the *total Extirpation* of *Episcopacy*, as well as another from the zealous and learned *Ladies* of that *City* to the same purpose, even in the *Y. 41*? (c) And was this by the *Mob* only? Or was there not a *Declaration* presented to the *House of Commons*, by a *Body* of their *Ministers* against the whole *Government* of the *Church*; managed by *Stephen Marshal*, the very *Frontispiece* of *Smeckimus*, and said to be sign'd by several hundreds of *Ministers* in *London*, and the *Countries* adjacent? Nay, was there not a *Bill* prepared for the *Extirpation* of *Episcopacy* even in the *Year 1640*, though *Matters* were not then fully ripe for the carrying it? Was not this a principal *Article* in their *solemn League* and *Covenant*, the very *Shibboleth* of their *Party*, and that *Mark* in their *Foreheads* and *Palms* of their *Hands*, without which none were to enjoy any *Peace* or *Privilege* amongst them? Did not the *Parliaments Commissioners* know their *Masters Intentions*, or speak their sense at *Uxbridge*; where one great *Dispute* was about *Church Government*, the *King's Divines* arguing that *Episcopacy* was *Jure Divino*; the *Parliaments* (*Mr. Vines* and *Mr. Henderson*) that *Presbytery* was so? The same did the *whole Assembly of Divines*, (tho', as *Mr. Baxter* says, they were all *Conformists*) in their *advice* and *opinion* presented to the *Commons* for the settling of the *Presbyterian Government*, upon which the two *Houses* published an *Order* for settling the same throughout the whole *Nation* without further *Delay*. From

(c) Whitlock's Memoirs, and Clarendon's Hist. Lib. 3. p. 161.

24. *Whether the Dissenters have out-done the Primitive Christians.*

all which, if it be not evident that those who *begun* the War were against *Episcopal Government*, and Friends to *Presbytery*, I must despair of seeing any matter of Fact ever made so : And if the *Dissenters* go on at this rate, they were as good go a little farther, and try whether they can persuade the World that there was *no War at all*, but that this part of our Chronicle is as meer a *Sham* as the *Papists* represent the *Gun-powder Treason*.

§ [26.] The last Assertion, one would have thought, had been high enough, and sufficient to have stretch'd the Faith of a Reader " That the Dissenters never oppos'd common Authority, or " countenanced them that did it : But it seems this was only a *Preparative* to what follows; for my Answerer goes on in the Name of the Presbyterians and Independents, and says, " We " have out done *primitive Christianity* it self, in patient Submission " to illegal Violence: (d) I should have thought 'twou'd have been enough to grant that the Dissenters had been EQUAL to the Primitive Christians in *Prayers, and Tears, and passive Obedience* : But that will not do, their Apologist says they have clearly *out-done* them, and the Case is so plain that it needs no Answer; all I can do is to find a *parallel Place*, which can scarce be met with unless in the Quakers Writings, who have publickly asserted with the like Truth and Modesty, " That the Sufferings of the " People of God, call'd Quakers, is a greater Suffering, and more " unjust than any in the Days of Christ, his Apostles, or any " time since, &c. (e) neither of which Assertions I am at leisure to answer, but shall only make a few Remarks on the former. Let's for once suppose this to be true, which the Dissenters Apologist so roundly affirms, and that the *United Brethren* have been *more than stoned, sawn asunder, &c.* and yet never stirr'd a Hand or a *Thought* towards *Resistance*; but then they cannot avoid granting that they submitted to these illegal *Violences* either *willingly* or else *against* their *Wills*, and because they could not help it; if the latter, Where's their *Merit*? If the former, and they might have eas'd themselves by *Resistance*, but were too *conscientious* to do it, I'm sure the *Bowstring* twangs as much as ever it did in *Constantinople* or *London*, and no Man living can tell how the Dissenters themselves can avoid the horrible *Scandal* of what this Author immediately after stiles, --*The perfidious Doctrine of passive Obedience* (F).

(d) De-
fence p. 12
l. 3.

(e) Bur-
rough's
Works,
p. 273.

(f) De-
fence, p. 2.
l. 5.

(g) Ibid.
l. 9.

§ [27.] But still,—" If they had made so great a Complement to " any person, as the University did, they should have thought " themselves in Conscience bound to defend them (G). Why then they have stretcht their Consciences soundly, as tender as they are in other matters; and they must not take it amiss, if I put 'em in mind

mind of much greater Complements than those they mention, which they publickly made to the same Person, whom yet they'll scarce plead (excepting Mr. L. and some few more) that they afterwards defended. I will not insist on their famous Regulators, most or all of whom were notoriously known to be rigid Dissenters (several of 'em I knew my self) who with their Friends, went a great length towards the utter overthrow of our Constitution, which was then so strenuously defended, and preserv'd by those whom this Author Censures as the Betrayers of it. But their Addresses must not be forgotten, wherein we have the Flower of the English Presbyterian Eloquence.

I think the first * was that of the Presbyterians in London, who tell * Gazette, the King " that he had by his Declaration [restored God to his Empire May 2. " over Conscience] and return him thanks for his tender care of 1687. their Rights and Properties. The Independents thank him " for his " transcendent and unparalell'd Favours †. Those of Norwich recog- † Ibid. nize him as their Natural, Legal, and Rightful K. and Sovereign, " in the right line, and by succession, to the great satisfaction of all " wise and loyal Subjects, and add, that he had shown himself a wise " and merciful King in the whole Course of his Reign, especially in " his Declaration. The Independents, &c. of Gloucester, " prostrate them- May 12. selves at his Majesty's Feet with Hearts more full of Joy than their " Tongues could express; nay, they were big with Hopes " that " his two Houses of Parliament would Address him to compleat " that Christian and Wise Declaration for a total Abolishment of the " Penal Laws concerning Religion. Those of Newcastle upon Tyne, " That his Majesty's Inclination for Liberty of Conscience had " fill'd 'em with unspeakable Satisfaction and Joy, that this Truth " had now gain'd Caesar's Image and Supercription, and would " henceforth pass for current good Coin. The Men of Coven- May 21. try are wondrous Rhetorical, and " praise God for forming Princi- " ples of such intrinsick Worth in the Royal Breast, which would " adorn his Temples with a Wreath of Eternal Fame.--But the Exo- nians out-fling, even their Friends of Coventry many lengths; for they acknowledge " his Great Wisdom and Royal Goodness, in his Gra- cious Toleration, for which most Godlike Favour, (I was afraid " they would have gone higher) they unanimously declare as " one Man, that whenever his Majesty's Occasions should require " it, the utmost drop of their Blood and Expence of their Fortunes, " should be at his Majesty's dispose †. Observe, that tho' the Dis- June 20. senters deny they ever complemented King James with their Lives and Fortunes; it's pretty plain they did it with their Blood and Fortunes; and I think there's no great odds between 'em. Those of King's Bridge-- " were brought out of the Darkeness of Misery into " the Light of Joy and Felicity. The Bidfordians were in an Ex- asy of Joy that they had " so wise, so just and so merciful a Prince,

- * July 4. "and commend to the Skies his most excellent Government*. And yet this is nothing to that of *Essex*, which is such a perfect Nosegay that 'tis almost worth entirely transplanting. They say, "they had those miraculous Providences still fresh in their Eye that preserv'd his Royal Person from eminent Dangers both by Sea and Land, which were the certain Presages of great Services the Almighty had design'd him unto, the *Blossoming* whereof was now made visible in his celebrated Wisdom, in *happening* upon the most melodious Harp to charm all evil Spirits that many other Princes had no skill to use. Disdaining the harsh and ineffectual Rhetoric of Penal Severities, &c. making himself an universal Conqueror, belov'd at home, and formidable abroad. You have added, say they, a fourth Kingdom in your Subjects *Affections*, to your other three in *Subjection*, and having given vent to our latent *Affections*, that kept their Cave during the renting Wind and Earthquake. You have made an Harmony for your Self and People, in the different Sounds from divers Strings by the gentle Touch of your most skilful Hand †.
- † July 11. The Burgers of *Ashburton* plunder honest *Claudian* for a Complement to his Majesty, but are so just as to quote their Author. And those of *Northampton* compare him to
- || July 18. *David* and *Abigail*, of which perhaps their Friends can make sense ||. Those of *Droghda*, positively thank his Majesty for sending a *Quo Warranto* against their Burrough. Those of *Colchester* make the Declaration,---"The Sound of the Jubilee-Trumpet which had
- * Aug. 4. "exhilarated their Heart, &c. * The *Plimouthians*,--- "That 'twas Life from the Dead, and cried out, *Let the King live for ever!*
- † Aug. 15. † The *London-Merchants*,---"That God had rais'd his Majesty, like *Moses*, to be the Deliverer of his People from the Yoak and Burden of Penal Laws, a Slavery and Darkness worse than that which punish'd *Egypt*. Those of *Leathward*, to pass by a little false *English*, which is not uncommon amongst 'em, make that up by their extraordinary Conclusion, "That it should be only said of his Majesty's Reign, that from the Western Ocean, even to the Frozen *Thule*;--- then had the Churches rest, and were multiplied, no Man forbidding them ||.
- || Aug. 22. "And I think we need not go any further, for we are already got into *Terra Incognita*. I shall therefore omit several other *Lives* and *Fortunes*, and high Flights to the same Tune with those already mention'd.

§ [28.] I am not ignorant of their usual Pleas on this Occasion, "That none can blame 'em for making use of *Liberty* when 'twas offer'd 'em; and that 'twas but *manners* to say *Thank ye* for such a Kindness. In answer--if we shou'd grant the *First*, supposing they manag'd that *Liberty* with *Prudence* and *Civility*, they wou'd not find it so easie to come off with the *Latter*. For either they did not see that the *Declaration* was a direct Breach of the Laws, and design'd by

the Contrivers and Advisers of it, not as a Kindness to the Dissenters, but for the introducing Popery; and then where was their boasted Penetration and Policy? or else they plainly saw thro' it, as they might have done with half an Eye, and yet acted as they did: And then where was their Honesty? Mr. Calamy, I confess, has another Reply, a little more cautious than the former. He endeavors to defend his Party by a Supposition and Recrimination. (b) "If the Dissenters overdid it in (b) A. addressing, those who address'd for the Dissolving of the Parliament ^{bridgment} had little reason to reflect on 'em. For his IF let the Reader be P. 629. Judge whether what is already produc'd, has not put the Matter beyond Controversie: and Recrimination, tho' the Matter were true, has never been esteem'd more than a Shift instead of an Answer: Nor is what has been brought on this Head, of that nature, but a direct Proof of my Opponent's Mistake, when he wou'd make us believe that the Dissenters never complemented those who were for bringing in Popery: for if we compare his Insinuation with the Practice of his Party, it will appear, that one of these has been diametrically opposite to the other. But still, says Mr. Calamy, (i) "there were not many that cou'd (i) ubi fa; be charg'd with these Addresses. --- That we have seen already. pra. "However, Mr. Baxter had no hand in addressing--Nor perhaps Mr. Calamy: but what's that to the Party? who, notwithstanding their high Pretences for Liberty and Laws, can sacrifice both when their Interest is concern'd.

§ [29.] Yet still "They have not oppos'd any King (k). That has (k) Def. been already, and may be further clear'd, before we have done. --- P. 12. "Nor defended any Tyrant.-- Then Oliver was none, nor K. Dick neither, nor a great many hundreds more, who for so many years oppress'd the Nation. Which leads to his Answer of that part of my Charge wherein I discourse 'em for their Vindicating the Murder of K. Ch. I. "This, he says, seems to be limited by me to Mr. Morton's Pupils (l). It does but seem so, and scarcely that: For my next Words are these, as an Addition and Aggravation to the former (l) Ibid. Charge ["But the Memory of his Murderers I have heard generally "treated by the Party with the greatest tenderness imaginable (m). (m) Letter p. 7. l. 11, 'Twas the Generality of the Party then, against whom I brought this just, tho' heavy Accusation, which he thinks he abundantly refutes by 12. saying "'tis scandalous and false, and a bold Falshood. And to prove this, he brings my Fellow-Pupils to witness against me; (who, 'tis very likely, may be made use of agen to the same purpose) that, "nothing of that nature was known among 'em. And indeed had I been educated in a Seminary instead of an Academy, and charg'd the Jesuits with the King-killing Doctrine, 'twou'd be strange if any of the St. Omers Lads shou'd strengthen my Evidence. He hits the matter right, when he thinks I had a particular respect in this Charge to what I had heard at Mr. Morton's; but he's wide of the Mark, when

(n) Def.
P. 12.

Justice, (tho' 'tis now too late to flatter 'em) to acknowledge, that they were some of the most moderate and best tempered of my Acquaintance, and I think those of 'em whom I still know, are not alter'd. But let's hear their Evidence: "They all affirm, or else this Writer abuses 'em, "That nothing of this nature was known among 'em; "that there was but one Gentleman who ever seem'd to have a favourable Opinion of that *Action*; that he found the Resentment "of all the rest, who abhor'd it as an *ILLEGAL ACT* (n). As to what he advances in Counter-evidence, that *ALL* his several Great Men who were my Contemporaries, do affirm there was no such thing. This *All*, I know, can be but very few; for there are not many of the Company who were then discoursing together, that are now about London, I think Two or Three are the most, and some are past his consulting; for they are gone into another World. But I do still exactly remember the very Place of that particular Conversation, which I there mention'd: 'Twas in the Hall on the Outside of the Table about the middle of the Room, and as I then stood, the Window was on my Right-hand. There was a Knot of us got together, and canvassing that Affair; and I still affirm, that there was not above One or Two at the most, who spoke against the Regicides, and defended K. Ch. I. and that there was a great Clamor about it, which made such an Impression as I shall scarce soon forget. And these things are so common and notorious with both Presbyterians and Independents, and even Baxterians, that I can scarce think any honest and ingenuous Man among 'em can deny that he has very often heard such Discourses as I have charg'd 'em with. However, the Calves-Head Club will not thank this Apologist for endeavoring to defraud 'em of that whereon they so much value themselves.

(o) Letter,
P. 7.

§ [30.] But for the laying open this *Mystery of Iniquity*, the King's Barbarous Murder, and setting it in as good Light as I can, in order to undeceive my honest Contreymen, and if it please God to open their Eyes which have been too long blinded with powerful Prejudices, I shall take my rise from that Paragraph in my Letter which has given so much Offence to my former Friends; and shall first recollect those Passages in the Troubles of that Blessed Martyr, and in the Tryals and Speeches of the Regicides which stuck most with me when I read 'em, and which made me, as I declare in my Letter (o), from the first moment I saw them, detest and abhor both the Fact it self; and the Memory of those who committed it. I shall then enquire how far the Presbyterians were accessory to those Misfortunes, and when, and upon what occasion, they for a while left the Independents: I shall prosecute the History, and bring proof, tho' there's little need on't, that the Heads of the Independents were those who actually imbrew'd their Hands in the Sacred Blood, and that, as is evident from well-attested Fact, out of Malice forethought, and a Design long before concerted amongst 'em; of which there's no appearance that they had

ever repented, but all the Proof to the contrary, that such a Matter is capable of. I shall next inquire how the Body of Presbyterians who seem'd at first to disapprove that Murder, came in the process of some years to judge more tenderly and favorably of it, and of those who were Actors in it, which I shall make appear from their own most applauded and authentick Writers.

§ [31.] That, then, which made me from my very Childhood abhor this unexampled Villany, was principally the following Passages, which on a late Review of the several Acts of the Tragedy came more freshly into my mind. First, I observ'd the Impudence and Blasphemy of those who contriv'd it; which, they pretend, they did, both in the Name of God, and by the Authority of the Parliament: Whereas 'twas a notorious Breach of the Laws of God, and so far from being the Act of what was left of the Parliament, that there were but 46 of the House of Commons present when the pretended Act was sign'd for the Trial, and but 26 of those who consented to it. A notable Representative of the Nation! Tho' this was to be made up by Addresses and Petitions, to bring Delinquents to Justice, and especially as they call'd him, the Grand Delinquent.

§ [32.] I then reflected on the horrid Hypocrisie of those Wretches who brought him to his Mock-Trial who, as 'twas prov'd against 'em at their own, had long before design'd and contriv'd his Murder. The chief of these were Cromwel, Ireton, Harrison, advis'd and spur'd on by Peters, Goodwin, &c. (p) Goodwin made a Prayer when they were consulting about it in the Painted Chamber. Hugh Peters, the Caiaphas of the Party, (I think at another time) call'd for a Blessing on the Work, the Plan whereof, he and Cromwel had laid, and several times talk'd it over, once particularly a considerable time before at their Quarters in Windsor. He thank'd God that the Great City fell down before 'em: In several Sermons he compar'd the King to Barabbas, and (Impure Blasphemer!) the Redcoats to Christ; which was a little more than the warmest Writers have gone on the other side, tho' they could hardly miss observing several Passages in that Martyr's Sufferings, which strangely resembled others in our Saviour's, the History of whose Passion was read in order, as the Lesson for the Day; such as the spitting in the King's Face, the Peoples being mov'd to cry out for Execution, the 30 pieces of Silver which were given to the Executioner, &c. He added, "that this was the Day that he, and many (such) Saints of God, had been praying for many Years. A farther Argument that this was not an Act of Passion, but a long-contriv'd and form'd Piece of Villainy. He said when the Business was done, like the Devil's Simeon, Now lettest thou thy Servant depart in Peace! Tho' Providence vindicated it self by bringing his boar Head to the Grave with Blood. He told the People in his Sermon that he would have preach'd before the King on that Text, --- Thou art cast out of thy Grave like an abominable Branch, &c. I intended, says he, to

(p) Vide
Tryals of
Regicides.

have preach'd on this Text before the poor Wretch, and the poor Wretch would not hear me.

§ [33.] Another of 'em was Cook, a Wretch of desperate Fortunes, who acted confessedly and evidently against his Conscience: He brought in the Charge, tho' he own'd,---*That the King was as gracious and wise a Prince as any in the World, but he must die, and Monarchy must die with him.* And yet almost in the same Breath could vent some of Cromwell's Cant,---*That they would see strange things, and must wait upon God.* He accus'd him in his Charge, as a Tyrant, a Traitor, a Murtherer, and a publick and implacable Enemy to England; Titles which I've often heard bestow'd upon him, tho' indeed neither the Nation nor the World was worthy of him. And tho' they could shew no Law, no President, no Authority for that publick Shambles which they call'd their High-Court of Justice, and the King's Plea was unanswerable, yet they would not so much as hear his Reasons, but over-ruled all, and condemn'd him without any publick Examination, that I can find, of so much as one Witness in Westminster-Hall, the President fairly declaring, that there might be some Truth amongst 'em, that in that Court Reason was not to be heard. And yet this was the Court that Peters and his Gang said, *They could not look upon without the greatest Reverence, because it resembled the Trial that should be by the Saints at the end of the World.* And accordingly his Fellow-Blasphemers usually stil'd the Day when Sentence was pronounced *The Day of Judgment.* In order to the procuring which Sentence, the Soldiers were beat by Axtel, till they cried out, *Justice and Execution*; to which they were likewise excited by Peters. They fired Gunpowder near the King to disturb or affront him, as in his Chamber they smoak'd Tobacco for the same Reason. The Life of one of the Judges was threaten'd, because he press'd that the King might speak with his Parliament in order to give 'em entire Satisfaction, which he himself again and again desir'd with the greatest earnestness and tenderness imaginable. And after the Sentence, Cromwell held the Lord Fairfax and the Presbyterians in suspense, pretending to seek God for Direction, and desiring them to do the same, while by the Instigation and Help of the Devil, he committed the Murder:---Which, that there might be no Circumstances wanting to compleat their Barbarity and Villany, was before his own Gates. But the manner of it will not bear the recital. I shall only add that good Arch-B. Usher, when he saw the Blow at a distance fell into a Swoon, as I find it recorded in the Life of that Primate.

§ [34.] The next thing that I consider'd was the End of these Men, and therein the Justice of that Providence to which they had so often appeal'd, as if it had patroniz'd their Villanies: And I found that after they had by force or fraud remov'd all that could stand against 'em, they were first infatuated in their Councils by the just Judgment of God, and then arrested by his sure and swift Execution.

Master led the way, who tho' he escap'd the Justice of Man, yet died as fearfully as any of his Followers; for as Mr. Cowley says of him in his Vision, he died *mad and infatuated*, in a few Hours after he had been told by his *false Prophets*, that he should certainly recover. His *Retinue* follow'd their *Leader* in such a manner as one would have expected. At the *Trial* of those *Regicides*, I observ'd first what related to *Harrison*, who was one of the principal *Ringleaders* of this monstrous *Wickedness*, who *turn'd out all the Ministers of Wales in one Day*; who had been so famous and active in the Wars; of whom Mr. Baxter bears witness, that as he stood by him at the Fight of *Langport* when he saw the *King's Party* worsted, he broke out into an *Enthusiastical Rapture*. This Man was so *conscientious* when he came upon his *Trial*, "That he durst not put himself upon *God and his Country*, because they were *vain Words*; and indeed he had little reason to expect any *Favour* from either, considering how *harden'd* he was in his *Wickedness*. But he pretended "he would be tri'd by "the *Laws of God*: As *Axtel's* wife *Objection* against the same Words was, "That *God was not locally present*." 'Twas prov'd against *Harrison*, that he had told the *King*,--- "The *Lord* had reserv'd him for a "publick *Example* of *Justice*. That he would not have the *Charge contracted*, but said, Let us *blacken* him as much as we can, and his "Hand was prov'd and he himself own'd it to both the *Bloody War-rants*. His *Defence* was the same which I've often heard made for him and his *Party* (*as some of the Dissenters can't but remember when they read this Passage*) "That the *Presence of God* was with his *Servants* in "those *Days*; however it seem'd good unto him to let this *Turn* "come upon them. That he had desir'd in his *Prayers* that he might "receive *Conviction* in his *Conscience*, and had receiv'd rather *Assurance* of it, and did believe 'twould be made known that the things "which were done were from *Heaven*, and that there was more of "God in it then Men were aware of: That what he did, was out "of *Conscience* to the *Lord*; and he afterwards brought in the *God of Gods espousing their Quarrel*: And would have gone on *Blaspheming* at this rate, had not the *Court* been forc'd to stop his *Mouth*, after having justly observ'd that he spoke as if he had been possess'd.

Carew, before he'd plead, was for *for saving to the Lord Jesus Christ his Right to the Government of these Kingdoms*: And said, *That what he did in that Affair was in the Fear of the Lord, and in Obedience to his holy and righteous Laws*. This he repeated several times, and adds, *That he had Satisfaction in his Conscience, and did it from the Lord*: And after all, he complain'd that he was hinder'd from speaking the *Words of Truth and Sobriety*.

Against *Scott* 'twas prov'd that he *glory'd* in the *Fact*: That he not only own'd he had a *Hand* in putting the *King* to *Death*, but desir'd all the *World* might take notice of it, and that when he died, it might be written on his *Tomb-stone*,---[Here lies T. Scott, who ad-judg'd

The Regicides Speeches.

judg'd to Death the late King.] That he did not Repent of any thing he had done, and that he hoped he should never Repent. Here's a true case harden'd Wretch of those times! I think he need not much have fear'd it, for I can find very few who were *active Instruments* in that horrid Fact, that had ever the least appearance of Repentance.

§ [35.] And that this Censure is not *uncharitable*, because grounded on notorious *Matter of Fact*; will appear if we consider the *Behaviour* of those *Regicides* at their *Execution*. This we may best learn together with the *Temper* of their *Minds*, by their *last Speeches*, which were publish'd by their Friends, and which I have often heard highly applauded by their Party.

(r) *Regicides Speeches*, p. 5, &c. Harrison said,--That he was going about a great Work for the Lord, and that his Sufferings were on account of Jehovah, the Lord of Hosts, and look'd on this as a clear Answer of his Prayers. (r) As he was going to Execution, he said, I go to suffer for the most glorious Cause that ever was in the World,--The good Old Cause, which he had in his Heart, and was going to Seal with his Blood, and that he saw a Crown of Glory prepared for him. In his Speech, That for being Instrumental in the Cause of the Son of God, he was brought to Suffer, and that if he had 10000 Lives, he'd chearfully lay 'em all down to Witness it. He believed that ere long the Lord would make it known from Heaven, that there was more of God in it than Men were now aware of. That he was going to sit at the Right Hand of Christ in Heaven; it may be to judge those that had unjustly judged him. That God would make known his glorious Arm in the sight of all Nations; the Sun would shine, and God would give a Testimony of what he had been doing in a short time. And it appears that he was not without hopes of being sav'd by a Miracle; for when the Rope was putting on, he said, Here is the Wood, but where is the Sacrifice? If the Lord see good, he can provide another Sacrifice; he can deliver those that are appointed to dye.

§ [36.] Carew, as they say, might have escaped, but would not. He told his Friends the Night before he suffer'd, That he should receive a glorious Crown at the Hands of the Lord for This Work, and This Cause. Being ask'd if he had any Conviction on him as to that for which he was to Suffer. He answer'd, No, not in the least, for tho' Man condemn'd, the Lord hath, and doth justify. (s) He had done it in the Field before, but he would do it again with a witness: And he pray'd the Lord to deliver one of his Friends from that Judgment by which he would do it. One ask'd him if he thought there would be a Resurrection of the Cause. He answer'd, That he died in the Faith of that, as much as he did that his Body should rise again. He said to his Friends, That he died not only In the Lord, but For the Lord; and that this Blessed Cause should not be lost, but should reach to all the Ends of the Earth. He blesses God in his Prayer, that he had made him willing to lay down his Life for his righteous Work and Cause.

(s) This was true in the Scotch Sense of the Word.

[§ 37.] *Cook*, when he was press'd to repent of his hainous Crime against the Lord's Anointed, said, "He had no Guilt or Trouble on his Spirit for what was done. In his Speech he compares himself to *Jesus Christ suffering upon the Cross*; and added as a reason for't, "That he suffer'd in his Cause. He said he was of the *Congregational Way*, and desir'd never to Repent of any thing, but to own the Cause of God and of Christ, and was there to bear Witness to it. He says in his Prayer, "Me-thinks I see Heaven open, and the Lord Jesus ready to receive my Soul: (Poor Wretch! was he not soon undeceiv'd!) And that he believ'd an Army of Martyrs would willingly come from Heaven to suffer in such a Cause. That he had not any Act came into his Mind with less *Regret*, or greater *Comfort*, than that for which he was to suffer. In his Letter, "That the Cause was as good as ever 'twas, and he believ'd there was not a Saint that had engag'd with 'em, but wou'd wish at the last Day that he had seal'd it with his Blood. — The most noble and glorious Cause for God and Christ since the Apostles time: That he look'd not on the Fact as a Murder, but as the most noble and high Act of Justice that our Story can parallel, (tho' he had own'd that the King was the most *Wise* and *Gracious* Prince in the World) "That he was in Mercy an *Advocate* for Christ and the poor People of England, and if by his Blood their Cause might be water'd, both ought to rejoyce. --- And below, --- "They punish us for being *Judges*, *Advocates*, and *Soldiers* for our Lord Jesus. He goes on and says, "If any of the *Elect* think hardly of us, that we do not cry *Peccavi*, and make our *Recantation*, it will not last long; and 'tis no matter what others say, for they must receive their Judgment at the Bar of Christ, and we shall judge our Judges. To think of a Crown of Glory is a Soul-melting Consideration, — when the poor Saint-haters, that now persecute the Heirs of Glory, shall be cast out, — and ulcerous *Lazarus* shall be as sound as a Fish. — And in another Letter he says, "He intended to bear his Testimony for Christ and for the good old Cause.

[§ 38.] As for *Peters*, — They give us little more than the *Skeleton* of a Sermon in *Newgate*; some of which was undoubtedly his, for he talks of "rouling on Christ by Faith; that Faith must go to Christ as the *Liver vein*. That Faith will not feed on every Dish, an Ox, or a Calf, but 'twill eat a Word, &c. They say, that a little before he went to Execution, he was well compos'd; but if he were so, 'twas soon off again; for his Behaviour in the Sledge was far unfit for one in his Circumstances.

And *Cook* himself, who went just before him, said, "Here is a poor Brother coming; I'm afraid he's not fit to dye at this time: And the same *Peters* thought himself; and this will be easily believ'd when he answer'd the Clergymen, who came to persuade him to repent, "That he had no Cause in the least to do it; and we find neither his Speech nor his Prayer among the rest at the time of his Execution; nor can we ascribe this to any other Reason than the Conflict between his *Obstinacy* and his *Conscience*, which render'd him incapable of serving his Cause to the last Gasps, as was done by his Fellow-Regicides.

[§ 39.] *Scott* says, "That he had no Temptation to desert the *Good Cause*, and that he had resolv'd to tell the Court the Cause was the Lord's, and that the Fault was not in the Lord, that he cou'd not assert it. He said, "The Lord shou'd not put him off with any thing besides himself, At last he cry'd, "He is come! He is come! I am full! I am full! And in his Prayer at his Execution said, "That this Condition to which he was brought, was the Answer of his Prayers: And that God had engag'd him in a Cause not to be repented of. He doubles it over, "I say in a Cause not to be repented of: And 'twere to be wish'd the latter part of those Words were not too true, tho' not in the Sense wherein he spoke 'em.

[§ 40.] There's but little, tho' too much, of *Scroop*, "That when one press'd him to Repentance, he thrust him away, and said, *Avoid Satan!* And at his Execution, "That he died in the Cause of Jesus Christ; and yet was the most modest of 'em all, except *Jones*, tho' even he forbids his Friends to go into Mourning for him, and compar'd his Sledge to *Elijah's* Fiery Chariot, and denied at his Death his owning himself guilty of Murder, tho' he acquitted the King and his Judges, and yet says in his Prayer, that he suffered for the Name of God.

[§ 41.] *Axtel* sent Word to his Friends in *Ireland*, "That for the good old Cause wherein they were engag'd, he was going to be their *Martyr*: And to others in *Gloucestershire*, "That they should keep close to Christ, and [be sure] not to touch with *Surplice* and *Common Prayer Book*. And told *Hacker* to comfort him when he was sad, "That their God was the God of *Newgate*: And protested, that if he had a Thousand Lives, he cou'd lay 'em all down for the Cause; and being ask'd for what Cause, he answers, "That it was against the *Surplice* and *Common Prayer Book*; against which it seems he was wondrously zealous; for he adds, "I tell you, that *Surplice* and *Common Prayer Book* shall not stand long in England, for it is not of God. Wherein.

Wherein he was as true a *Prophet* as he was a *Martyr*, and equal in both to *Carew*, *Cook*, and *Harrison*, that went before him: The Friends of the last having such a Faith in his *Enthusiastical* Ravings, that they verily expected he'd miraculously rise again to restore their Cause, as the *Turks* are said to believe of their *Ma-homet*; for the Truth of which we've no contemptible Voucher, for 'tis affirmed by Mr. *Cowley*, of his own Knowledge.

[§ 42.] And thus have we brought the Regicides to the Period of *their Villanies* and *their Lives* together; wherein we have seen the dreadful *Effects* of false Notions in *Religion*, tho' joyn'd with the Pretences of the greatest Purity; and what a terrible thing it is to be sway'd by a *misguided Conscience*; to which when Men are once given up, 'tis no more than is prophesied of 'em, "That when they *kill the Saints of God*, they'll think they do him good Service. But what is yet more to be lamented, there's little Doubt but these Men were led to do what they did by the *Advice* and *Direction* of their *Ministers*, as *Axtel* publickly own'd at his Death, and said, "That the Bible had the whole Cause in it, and he did not doubt but 'twas the Cause of the Lord.— But there are some other Reflexions which naturally arise from the whole, that will be more proper towards the Conclusion; and therefore I shall take one Step further in the History, and the Consideration of what my Author has asserted, in order to clear the Non-Conformists from this Business. And here I shall save him some Labour, and be ready to suppose what the *Presbyterians* have advanc'd in their own Vindication. That several of their Ministers went to the *General* while the thing was agitated, and presented a *Declaration* against it. Let it likewise be own'd that they did for some time afterwards express their *Abhorrence* of it, and that Mr. *Henry* did keep the Fast of the King's Martyrdom for several Years: 'Tis no Pleasure to find any that are call'd Christians engaged in such Actions, or what perhaps is worse, *defending* them, especially among those who profess themselves *Embassadors* from the *Prince of Peace*: I wish there had been still fewer guilty of it, for then the Nation would have less to answer for. But notwithstanding this, there are some untoward Objections which lie in the Way, and want to be remov'd, before the Presbyterians themselves can be wholly clear'd as to this Affair, relating to their Behaviour both before and after.

[§ 43.] As to what went before, 'tis too evident, that the Body of their *Ministers* and *People* never left *Cromwel* and his Par-

How they came for a while to leave the Independents.

ty, or spoke against 'em, but went along with 'em in all their Motions, fought and preach'd, and pray'd and pay'd of the same side, till they found they were like to be too hard for the Presbyterians, and for pulling down them and their *Discipline*, as they had both done before with Episcopacy, which had been for more than a Thousand Years establish'd in the Nation: And then indeed (tho' 'twas too late) they set heartily against 'em: Which will appear as well from the Notoriety of the Fact, as from

(S) Bax- Mr. Baxter's own Writings, who says (S) "That when he ter's *Life*." heard some unwelcom News from his Friends in the Parlia- p. 50, 51. "ment Army, he went himself into it, and was Chaplain to "Whalley's Regiment, where he found that the *Independents* and "Sectaries prevail'd; that they rail'd against the *Scotch* and all "Presbyterians, especially their Ministers, calling them *Priest-* "biters, *Dry-vines*, &c. That on this he began to blame himself, "who was formerly invited to be Chaplain to *Cromwel's* Regi- "ment, but had refused to go; and he likewise blamed other "Ministers, who had lost all by forsaking the Army. 'Tis true he brings in something of their Designs *against the King*, but this wou'd have look'd better, if it had not been accompanied with what has been just mention'd, for 'twill not be difficult to guess whether *Interest* or *Loyalty* had the larger Share in those Complaints. — Which now grew louder every Day, and the Breach still wider between the Presbyterian and Independent, and Mr. Bax-

(T) P. 101. ter exclaims very severely against the latter (T) when they pluck'd down *Richard*, — "That they should so proudly despise "not only the-*Parliament*, but all the Ministers of *London* and of "the *Land*, as to do this not only without, but even against "their Judgments; ay, and in a factious Envy against them, lest "they should be too much countenanc'd. He further lays Load on a certain *Independent Minister*, as the chief Promoter of those *Revolutions*; and that with a great deal of Reason; for 'twas plain that *Richard* favour'd the Presbyterians, for whose Deposition by the fore-mention'd *Doctor's Church*, he makes far more *Tragical Complaints* than on Occasion of the *King's Murther*; as any may see who will be at the Pains to consult the Places where both are mention'd; tho' I confess he goes not so far as the *Scotch Ministers*, who, if there be any Credit in *Whitlock's Memoirs*, declar'd in their Prayers, "That *God should not be their God un-* "less he'd help 'em against the *Sectaries*. (U)

(U) Whit-
lock's Me-
moirs. p.
449.

[§ 44.] But still 'tis their Plea, "That none of the Presbyteri-
"ans had actually any Hand in the *King's Death*. If this be true, they must yet answer a Question or two before they'll appear, even

as.

as to that, *Wholly Innocent*. The First is, — Whether that Minister were a Presbyterian, who, when there was a fair Appearance of a *Pacification* by the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, did avowedly preach against it? Who had nothing in his Mouth but *Blood! Blood!* And who positively averr'd, and perhaps truly, “That the King and that Parliament cou'd no more agree than Heaven and Hell? I spare his *Name* and *Person*, because he did better afterwards; but can't tell how his *Party* will answer this, whose Sense he doubtless then spoke, being so Leading a Man amongst them, and they not apprehending at that time so much Danger from the *Independents* as they did afterwards, when several of 'em turn'd *Loyal*, because they could not help it, and had no other *Government* or, *Hopes of Safety* left. Nor do I know how their *pretended Parliament* can answer their refusing the King *Justice*, and not punishing this Preacher, when he with so much Reason complain'd of him, and publicly demanded it. But I have another Query or two on this Head; and the next is, — Of what Opinion was the General *Fairfax*, in whose *Name*, and by whose *Authority* all that Transaction was manag'd, and whose Orders were pleaded by *Axtel* and the other Soldiers at their Trial? They can't deny that he was the Man who would not march his *Army*, nor so much as take his Commission, till those *Words of Course* were left out, which had been in all others before, [for the Defence of the King's Person] and accordingly that Clause was omitted, which was the very thing as Mr. *Baxter* owns, (W) that chang'd the Cause, and brought the King to the Block. But why did he not prevent this, having still the *Power* in his *Hand*, and being so Religious, Faithful, Resolv'd, and Valiant, as Mr. *Baxter* describes him; (X) whence 'tis easie to guess that he was a Presbyterian? If we look a little farther, we shall soon find the Reason: The same Author tells us, (Y) “He had not yet Resolution enough to lay down the Glory of all his Conquests, and to forsake *Oliver*. An equal Proof of his *Courage* and *Religion*, for both of which he had a little before so highly applauded him. (W) *Baxter's Life*, p. 49. (X) p. 48. (Y) p. 63.

[§ 45.] But let the Presbyterians get off how they will, 'tis a clear Case with the *Independents*; and I suppose they'll not put me to the Trouble of proving that they were generally engag'd in this Affair. I have shown already, that the King's Murther was talk'd of long before in the Army: That the Independent Ministers were at the Head of those who plotted it. 'Tis notorious that *Crommel* was the Head of their Party, whose Picture I have known by *Independents* hung up in their Closets, with an uncommon Veneration. *Desborough*, *Fleetwood*, *Cook*, *Axtel*, and I think,

think, *Berry*, &c. were of the same Denomination; the last, to Mr. *Baxter's* great Grief; for he having been at first one of his meek Lambs, as he, I hope without an Irony, somewhere calls the *Presbyterians*, he had Reason to expect he'd have continued a *Champion* for their Cause, especially when there had been formerly so great an Intimacy between them. Of the same Judgment were the *main of the Army*, when model'd by *Cromwel*, and the chief Officers, of his *Legions*, if they were of any Religion. And besides my own Observation while I liv'd amongst 'em, which makes me fear that their Party *never repented* of this Fact, any more than *Scott*, and that the Zealots among 'em, when they read this, will *laugh at me* for supposing they shou'd repent it; besides this I desire the Reader to look over a few Words of Mr. *Baxter* on this Subject, who must be look'd on as very well

(Z) P. 102. acquainted with it. He says many Years after the Wars (Z) of his Life. [

"There are few of those concern'd in the fore-mention'd Trans-
"actions who lament their Sin, but justify themselves and their
"Misdoings. Nay, he goes farther in what follows, tho' I
am afraid not beyond the Truth, since it has held good in all my
Acquaintance among 'em, "*The penitent Malefactor*, says he, is
"yet unknown amongst us. Which I doubt will stick, especially on
the Independents, till they can produce any of their Authors
since the Fact was committed, who have publickly express'd ei-
ther their *Abhorrence* of it, or *Repentance* for it.

[§ 46.] Now that even the *Presbyterians*, as zealous as they
appear'd at first, against this *Murder* did in the Process of some
Years very much alter their Opinion, I come to prove from their
Practices and Writings. I can't find that Mr. *Baxter* can spare
one good Word for the *King*, tho' he often mentions him, and tho'
he says many kind things of the *Usurper*. But this is not all; for
he furbishes up the whole Story of the Marquis of *Antrim*. (a)

(a) Pr. 3.
P. 83.

"He ridicules the Parliament for their *egregious Loyalty* and *Vene-
"ration of Majesty* on that Occasion, which kept 'em still in the
"same Sentiments they had before; adding, "That the *Regi-
"cides* did thence justify their Cause, since it appear'd that *Antrim*
"had King *Charles* his Commission for ALL he did in the *Irish Re-
"bellion*, and the horrid *Murder* of Two-hundred-thousand, and
"below, many *Hundred-thousand Protestants*. All this he asserts
as incontestable Matter of Fact; and his *Abridger*, as before,
lets it pass as such, when he repeats it; and the *Prefacer* to his
Life does the same; tho' the latter softens some things, and inter-
poses a Caution in his Preface, as to some hard Words which
Mr. *Baxter* bestows on *Cromwel* and his Party; tho' they cou'd
scarce

scarce any of 'em be ignorant of what has been so often publish'd in Vindication of the Martyr's Memory on this Occasion; and tho' they know that they ought not to *take up*, much less to *spread* about a false Report against their Neighbour.

I shou'd not repeat what has been brought from the best Histories on this Occasion, which has been done before by so much better Hands, and may be still more fully done, were not this one of the *loudest Out-cries* which the Party make against the Martyr, and which we see they itill repeat in their most *Celebrated Writings*, and were it not possible that this may fall into the Hands of some who may not have seen *larger Volumes*, or former Answers. And in the first Place I find of this *Antrim*, that he was a virulent *Papist*, and therefore as willing as the *Regicides* to reflect on the *King's Memory*, who was hated by the *Irish* Papists, some of their *Tinlar Prelates* openly declaring it, and requiring their Clergy to pray for the Success of the *Parliament's Army*, or to give Thanks for their Successes, which they wou'd not let 'em do for the *Royal Party*. (b) I find farther, that *Antrim's Priest*, (b) *Coxes* whose Name was *Kelly*, was in *Dublin* with *Cromwel* from his first *History of* landing, intriguing for his Master, who was likewise himself very *Ireland*, great with *Ireton*. That *Antrim* once declared, "He knew of *2d Part* "no Commission which King *Chales* the 1st gave to the *Irish*, at "the Beginning of the War; tho' *Baxter* says expressly, that it appear'd, *Antrim* himself had such a Commission for the Murther of the Protestants. (c) Nay, I can't see any thing of such a Com- (c) *Ibid.* mission in the Pamphlet he mentions. (d) For 'tis unanswerably p. 286. Evident even from thence, and from King *Ch.* the 2^d's Letter, (d) *Mur-* which is there Printed, and which has made all this Noise, "That *der will* "the Letters and Orders which *Antrim* had from King *Ch.* the *out.* "1st, to treat with the *Irish*, were after the Rebellion broke "out, and consequently they cou'd not be the Occasion of it: The Letter says, his Instructions were "concerning his Treating and "joyning with the *Irish*, in order to the King's Service, by re- "ducing them to their Obedience. — And below, — "That this "was with the Confederate *Roman-Catholicks*: But he cou'd nei- ther Treat nor Join with them, nor reduce them to Obedience, before they were actually in War, and Disjoin'd, and Disobedi- ent, and Confederate against the Government, which they were at length by as *Solemn League and Covenant* as that of their Brethren on this side the Water: At which time the Necessity of his Majesty's Affairs, thro' the Behaviour of his Rebels at home, forc'd him to transact with the *Irish*, in order to preserve the rest of the *British* there from utter Ruin, when the Parliament here

here did not succour 'em : And these Affairs were sometimes managed by *Ormond*, sometimes by *Clanrickard*, at others by *Antrim*, as Circumstances requir'd in the Process of several Years : But what's this to a Commission for the Massacre, or beginning the Rebellion ! Thus do they continue to take the Advice of *Harrison* and *Blacken* the Memory of that Prince as much as they can, tho' it will shine forth more *Gloriously* in Spite of all the Clouds of Malice and Envy.

[§ 47.] But to come nearer to our own times, Whatever kind Thoughts the *Presbyterians* might have of King *Charles* his Person, when the *Independents* were too hard for 'em, 'tis too evident that they have since alter'd 'em, and have of late Years generally entertain'd the same *Opinions* with those who were his most bitter *Enemies* : The Occasion whereof I conceive to have been the Influence of those Persons who had bin forward *Actors* in the fore-mention'd Confusions, some of whom surviv'd the Restoration many Years, and being Men of Estates, and consequently of Interest, they prov'd the Heads of the *Dissenting Party*, whose main Body were first inclin'd that Way by the *Scotch Covenant*; such were several Officers under *Cromwel*, who had well feather'd their Nests, either with great Places, or from the Ruins of the Royalists. I well remember the Names of several of 'em, belonging to One *Congregation* in *London*; nor is there any Doubt but these must mightily *leven* such as they convers'd with, if not, by Degrees, the whole Body of Dissenters, who were but too much disposed for the Infection : And that they really did so, hear a notable Confession from their own Historian, who speaking of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* from the Years 60 to 70, frankly owns, " That the Sense of their common Faultiness, and the Necessity of their present Concord, " and the Harshness of their grating upon suffering People, &c. " made 'em think it unseasonable and sinful, tho' after Ten Years " to tell one another, tho' never so gently, of their former Faults, " or to touch on their different Principles, but 'twas thought best " to bury all in Silence, while the Fruits of 'em spread more, and " leven'd a great Part of the religious People in City and County. (e) Which Passage, or any like it, I'm mistaken if we may not look for long enough in his *Abridger*, who did not think it convenient to insert what wou'd look so scurvily on his Party, and be so ill taken by them. Behold the Faith of an Historian, and what an *Impartial Account* of things Posterity may expect from him !

(e) Baxter's Life,
P. 3.
P. 43.

[§ 48.] But the same Abridger has furnish'd us with another notable Instance, to confirm the last mention'd Observation. When I first cast my Eye on his Book, particularly his Account of the *Ejected Ministers*, and saw after what manner 'twas done, I immediately reflected on the Life of their Famous Mr. *Henry* already mention'd, which was some Years since made Publick by one of their Party, and from whence the Abridger has taken many remarkable Passages, as his *Disputing* with the *Bishop*; his *Troubles*, &c. and I did not in the least doubt but he'd omit one thing of great Moment, relating to the Memory of King *Charles* the 1st, because it would so highly disoblige his *Friends* if he took Notice on't; and I appeal to his own *Conscience* and *Ingenuity*, whether this was not his Reason, and these his Thoughts when he was writing it. I told a Friend my Opinion before I consulted that Part of his Book, nor was I at all deceived in my Conjecture, for he has not one Syllable concerning Mr. *Henry's* Yearly Observation of the Fatal xxxth of *January*, and the notable Reason why he at last intermitted it. † But to remedy † A his Defect, which, if the Reader be so good natur'd, he may ascribe to bridge-meer *Inadvertency* or *Forgetfulness*. I shall here transcribe those Passages, ment, p. from p. 15 and 16 of Mr. *Henry's* Life. " He was at *Whitehal*, *January* 475. " 30. 1648. When the King was Beheaded, he, with a very sad Heart, " saw the Blow given; at which Instant there was such a dismal univer- " sal Groan among the Thousands of People that were within Sight of " it, as he never heard before. He did upon all Occasions testify his " Abhorrence of this *unparallel'd* Action. For some Years after King *Charles* the 2d came in, he observ'd the *Yearly Day of Humiliation* for this " Sin, desiring that God would not lay the *Guilt of Blood* to the Charge " of the Nation. But afterwards finding to what *Purposes* it was gene- " rally observ'd and improved, even to the Reproach and Condemning " not only the *Innocent*, but of some the *Excellent* ones of the Land, &c. " he took no farther Notice of it.

When I reviewed this Passage in the Second Edition of Mr. *Henry's* Life, I suspected my Memory; for I remember'd no such Word in the First Edition as *unparallel'd*. I got that Edition here in *London*, Printed 1698. and found 'twas there only call'd a *rash* Action. But this was Printed in the Year 107.. and in the Third Edition I hope they'll go further, and call it *Abominable* and *Wicked*. Thus far the Author of Mr. *Henry's* Life, tho' the Abridger has dropt every Word on't: And now I hope I need not proceed any further in the Proof of what I asserted, " That the *Presbyterians* are *leven'd* of late Years as to the Busi- " nesses of K. Ch. the 1st, and that they are for the most part united with " their Brethren as to their Sentiments of these things, as well as in " other Matters. I can likewise leave it to all the World to judge of my Answerer's well-guarded Assertions, " That the Dissenters never re- " sisted *Common Authority*. That they never *opposed any King*, or de- " fended any Tyrant; as well as what a Veneration they have for the " Memory of the Martyr.

42 *The Defenders Assertion, concerning the Morals of the Ch. of E.*

(g) De- [§ 49.] My Friend goes on, and complains of me "for representing the
fence, p. "Dissenters as *mean, little, and low* People by Education, (g) and for
12. this he refers to p. 14. of my Letter. I can find nothing there of their
Meanness and Littleness; but if I had cast never so many Reflexions on
them, he'd have wiped 'em all off by his *Modest Answer*, "That the
"Dissenters never pretended to be *Greater Scholars* than the Churchmen,
" (only as *Great*) and that they don't assume a Superiority, (only an E-
"quality) in Letters. But for this the Reader may be pleas'd to look
back to p. 2d. of my Answer. However, "for *Lowness* he owns there
"can be no Excuse; but says, he cannot find the Reason of this

(h) P. 13. "Charge. (h) Why then, I'll tell him the Reason on't. 'Tis in order
to do Justice to the *Universities*, and to take off the main Plea of those
Private Academies, who reflect so severely on the *Manners* of the for-
mer, and insist so highly on the *Sobriety* and Safety of their own Way of
Education, to induce the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, to send their Children
thither. He asks, "Whether I'd provoke him to tell Stories? Which is
in Effect a *publick Challenge*, and provoking me to begin; but he's like at
present to lose his Aim; tho' if he thinks fit to break the Ice, I'm mistaken
if I can't guess who'd be weary first. He goes on to ask me a *modest Question*,
"Whether I don't know my self, that the Men of Scandal are in
"my own Party (the Church of England) both in and out of the Uni-
(i) Ibid. "versities, *Fifty*, to One such among the Dissenters? (i) He has almost
provok'd me to ask him, What Metal his *Brow* is made of, that he can
propose such a Question? For if that be true which he strongly asserts in
his *Interrogatory*, I'm sure we are the most scandalous Wretches in the
World; and *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* wou'd be *Saints* to the Church of Eng-
land. But would they be willing to have their own *Artillery* turn'd upon
'em? Would they provoke me to tell Stories, and then style it *Ingratitude*, or
the *Betraying of private Conversation*? Did any *Enemy* of the Dissenters hire
this Gentleman to write against me, and to write in this manner? Do
they not know that I have been long and thoroughly acquainted with 'em,
as well out of their *Academies* as in them; and that I know how much
they are soften'd from their ancient *Strictness*, that they need as much *Al-
lowance* as other Men, and are as arrant *Flesh and Blood* as other Mortals.
They know I can speak a great deal more upon this Head, but 'twill
keep cold, and I've still so much *Gratitude* left as to forget those Passages,
unless they are desirous to refresh my Memory.

[§ 50.] But we must not leave the Matter thus; For either my An-
tagonist would have his *Fifty* to One understood in *Gross*, without any
Proportion to the *Inequality* of our Numbers; and then he has made a great
Discovery, when the Church of Engl. is at least *Fifty* to One of the Dis-
senter, I mean *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, nay in some Parts a *Thou-
sand* to One; I might venture to say near *Ten Thousand*, for it holds in this Isle
of *Axholm*, where God's Providence has cast me, which contains in no
large Circuit of Ground about *Ten Thousand Souls*, amongst whom there
is but One *Presbyterian*, and I think One *Papist* to balance him: And I'm
told that even in a *Corporation* of this Country, consisting of about *Three*
Thou-

The same, and Mr. Bonn. Acc. of the Morals of Priv. Academ. 43

Thousand Souls, there is scarce *One Presbyterian*. He must either mean *this*, and then there is *nothing to the Purpose*; or else he means that *proportionably and Number for Number*, there are *Fifty* scandalous Persons in our Communion, whether in the *Academies* or out of them, to *One* such among the *United Brethren*: But Thanks be to God, this he can never prove; and indeed if it were *true*, which I must repeat, 'twould make us the *lowest People* under the Sun. I doubt not but he thinks he lies safe enough under the Provision he has made against *producing* his *Proofs* if he should be call'd upon for 'em. "God forbid, says he, that we should *expose* each other, (k) after he has done all that lies in his (k) *P. 13.* Power to *expose the Church of England*. 'Tis his *Charity* that hinders *ad fin.* & him from doing what he knows is *impossible* to be done: He has given *14.* a *general Charge*, the *blackest* that ever was brought against the *Church of England*, or perhaps any other *Communion of Christians*. There's sufficient *Load* laid on: He says still most *Apostolically* *I spare them*; (l) and all's (l) *P. 15.* as well as ever.

[§ 51.] I thought I had not express'd my self *immodestly*, when I had *Occasion* in my Letter, to touch on the *Morals* of the *private Academies*: I said indeed, that there were some *Rakes* among us, as well as in other *Places*, and this they know to be *true*, and that I had kept within the *Bounds of Truth*, tho' I had gone much farther, and they may now see whether I cannot prove much more than I affirmed, concerning *those Academies*; and then I shall demonstrate the *gross Mistake* of this *Gentleman's Computation*, to give it no harder *Language*, and not to retort his own *Expressions*, "That 'tis *scandalous and false, and that he has published a bold Falshood*.

As for *those Academies*, I shall not mention the *meer Follies* of *Youth*, or *Boyish Vices*, which doubtless were the same there as they are in other *Places*; and for which God forgive us all; nor insist on *unfortunate Marriages*, which sometimes happen'd there, and were not confin'd to the *Universities*; but can give *Authentick Evidence* from a *Person* who had been at *both Places* some *Years* before me, and whose *Credit* will hardly be objected against, that 'tis not so *sure a Way* to *preserve young Persons from Vice*, as some may imagine, to send 'em to *these private Academies*: And here *Providence* has assisted me with a strong *Proof* from another *Nation*, in the *Private Memoirs* of that *Excellent Person* Mr. *Bonnel*, which he never thought would see the *Light*, and which contain the most *Remarkable* and most *Secret Transactions* between God and his own *Soul*, wherein we cannot think he'd dissemble with God. The *Passage* is to be met with, *p. 11, 12.* of his *Life*, Printed for the *Churchills*, An. 703. and recommended by *Bishops of Ireland*. "At *Fourteen Years* of Age, says the *Rd. Person* that wrote his *Life*, "being fit for the *University*, he was remov'd from *Trym-School*; but "his *Friends* who were nicely solicitous about his *Education*, chose to "send him to a *private Philosophy School* in *Oxfordshire*, * believing him * *We had at least two Gen-* *tlemen* at Mr. *Morton's* when I was there, who were sent thither by their *Friends* in *Ireland* for the same *Reason*.

Mr. Bonnel's Account

† One of
these it's
not impos-
sible but
Mr. Bon-
nel might
afterwards
see again
in Ireland.

“there more out of the Way of Temptation. But how much Persons
“of the like Sentiments are mistaken in their Opinions of these private
“Seminaries, may appear from Mr. Bonnel's Account of *that* which his
“Friends made Choice of for him, and prefer'd to all our Famous
“Seats of Learning. I was sent, says he, to *Oxfordshire* to a Private
“House, for fear of being corrupted at the University. Our Tutor
“was Mr. Cole, who had formerly been Principal of Saint-Mary-Hall in
“*Oxford*. He read to us *Aristotle's* Philosophy, and instructed us in the
“Classicks, and Oratory. He Preach'd twice every *Sunday* to his Fami-
“ly and us. Here I staid two Years and an half; but my Unhappiness
“was that there was no Practice of receiving the Sacrament in that
“Place, neither were my Associates *such from whom I might learn any*
“*Part of Godliness*, † *but on the contrary all Debauchery*; so that my
“Friends Care seem'd to be herein deluded, had I not been otherwise
“principled before, and had some Tincture of my Trym-Principles still
“on my Mind. Our Tutor was too remiss in Matters of Morality and
“Religion, tho' I cannot accuse him of any thing that was ill. He con-
“cludes, “I cannot with Comfort reflect on the Time spent in that
“Place; and he was often heard to say, when speaking of that Private
“School, “*That in it were all the Dangers and Vices of the Universities, with-*
“*out the Advantages.* — By which undoubted Relation it sufficiently
appears that I am not *singular* in my Account of the *Morals* of their A-
cademies; nay, that I have been tender of their Reputation, and said
little in Comparison of what might have been, and has been said by o-
thers, who yet must be allow'd for *Credible* Witnesses, if either *Capacity*
or *Honesty* can make 'em so. I think the Place where Mr. Bonnel liv'd
was *Nettlebed* in *Oxfordshire*, whither the Sons of several Persons of
Quality were sent for their Education, some of whom are still living I
believe in *both Houses*, and I doubt not could add to this Testimony, as
well as confirm it. Nor have I any Reason to think that *this* Place was
more *Debauch'd* than others of the same Nature, but rather much upon
a *Bottom* with them; tho' I believe Mr. *Morton's* was more *Reform'd*, and
notwithstanding the *severe Reflexions* which I heard upon their *Morals* by
our other *Academians*, before I came thither, I knew not of *many de-*
bauch'd Persons among us, tho' more than enough to spoil this Writer's
Computation.

[§ 52.] Which now I must return to, and state as I find it, and
shall begin with comparing their *Academies* and the *Universities*, and step
from thence a little farther amongst the *Common People*. I think there
might be about *Fifty* Persons at Mr. *Morton's*, not many less in both
Houses: We'll suppose an *Hundred Students* in E. Colledge, whither I
went when I left *Newington*; by the same Token that a Good Man, whose
Letter now lies before me, wrote me word soon after I enter'd there, that a fa-
mous Minister among the Dissenters, who about that time had been pray-
ing for one who went the same Way, added a Caution, “*If it be lawful*
“*to pray for him*.” From whence the Consequence is unavoidable, that
they think it a *Sin unto Death* to go to the *Universities*. Now there is

none

none of my Fellow-Pupils at Mr. Morton's, but must own that there were at least *Two Persons* of *Ill Lives* amongst us, one of whom, I think, had been before at *E. Colledge*; nor are they ignorant how he behav'd himself while he was there, or of the Reasons of his leaving the *University*: Now for these two scandalous Livers, at the rate of *Fifty* to one in my Answerer, we must reckon an *Hundred* in *E. Colledge*; whither I went; at which Rate he almost sweeps us all, *Fellows* and *Scholars*, *Head* and *Members*. And if we apply this to the whole *University*, and take in all the *Private Academies*, and suppose at a time *Five Hundred* Students in them throughout all *England*, at the former modest Computation of but *Two Black Sheep* in *Fifty*, the Total must be *Twenty*; which if apply'd to the *University*, he has provided us with a *Thousand Rakes*: A jolly *Company*! or rather a full *Regiment*.

[§ 53] Should we go from thence to the *Common People*, whom we can scarce suppose as regular as the *Academies*, and reckon but *Four bad Livers* out of *Fifty*, to what a vast Number would this amount, by this Gentleman's Arithmetick, if we reckon'd but some single *Parishes* in *London*, and compared the *Dissenters* with the Church of *England*; especially, if we went thro' the whole *City*! But since that might be *invidious*, I'll rather desire my Friend's Company a little farther. It seems a fair way to guess at the *Dissenters Morals* in our own *Nation* by what they are in *Others*: Now if we step over to *Ireland*, we shall there find, in one *Diocese* only, during no long Interval, *Two Hundred Persons* of the *Dissenting Persuasion*, presented by the Church-Wardens, for *Fornication*, *Adultery*, *Incest*, and such like *Virtues*; and what a fine Catalogue may we suppose might be gather'd thro' the whole *Kingdom*! (m) tho' at the foremention'd Proportion, he must find *Ten Thousand* of the Church of *England* guilty of the same Crimes in the same *Diocese*; which I doubt will be as hard a Task, as they had to make out the Number of their *Communions* in that Country. But how then will they come off near home, when *Presbytery* was *Culminant*, and where they had full Power to exercise their *Discipline*? I've one of their own *Writers* before me, who liv'd in those times, and had the best Means of *Information*, according to whose Account I find only *ONE THOUSAND* in *Scotland*, accus'd for *Adultery* at the publick *Affizes* there, in one Year, 1652. which Accusations must have been prefer'd by the *Presbyterians* one against another, and must be either true or false, whence all the Choice is *Perjury* or *Adultery*; tho' I believe they'd have found it not very easy, while the Church of *England* was uppermost there, to produce *Fifty Thousand* Adulterers in one Year of our Communion.

[§ 54.] Thus we have seen that the *Dissenters* are not *All Saints*, any more than their Neighbours; nor will that Distinction always hold, which an honest Cavaleer made in the Civil Wars. " Our Sins, says he, tho' God knows they are too great and too many, must yet be own'd to be the Sins of *Men*; but yours, speaking to a *Parliamentarian*, are *Malice* and *Hypocrisy*, which are the Sins of *Devils*."

Would

(m) Bp. Derry's 2d Admon.

The Schism one Great Cause of our Immoralities.

Would to God we had fewer of *both Sides*, and then the Nation wou'd prosper better, and we should agree sooner. Had we not been great Sinners, we had not been ripe for a Civil War, nor would God have deliver'd our Forefathers to those that were no People, or plagu'd us by so very foolish a Generation; who, if those Days had not been shortned, were in a fair way of rendring the Nation as barbarous as the Goths and Vandals; having debauch'd our very Language into Cant, and our Poetry into Doggrel; witness those Congratulatory Verses which were made even by the Universities in those times on publick Occasions, which smell stronger of Doggrel, than even my own or Mr. Baxter's. But what was offar worse Consequence, the Neglect and Contempt of *External Worship*, whereof I can't find so much as one Word in the Directory, and the general, and almost universal Disuse of the Sacraments, especially the Lord's Supper, which had not been celebrated in some Places for Twenty Years together; which a Friend of theirs, who wrote in those times, tells em they dared not receive because their Hands were so defiled with Blood: These things I verily believe were a Contrivance of the Devil to have reduced us by Degrees to downright *Heathenism*, as he has endeavoured of late in some of the Isles of Scotland, and accomplish'd in the Holy Land among the Remains of the Crusades, which the Saracens cou'd not entirely conquer.

[§ 55.] And to speak a plain Truth, tho' it be a disobliging one, we certainly owe a great Part of the Profaneness and Immorality of the Nation to that unhappy Schism which our poor Church has been so many Years groaning under. For it is notorious Fact that the vile Hypocrisy and awkward Superstition of the last Age, tempted too many to the contrary Extreme, brought em to a rooted Contempt of all things sacred, and made them worse than Heathens. (n) A poisonous Leaven, which God knows when 'twill be wrought out again; the Men of that Generation being not yet worn out, and little Hopes of their Amendment, and Posterity being so much infected with it; with a Contempt of God's Word and Sacraments, and all publick Worship, which if once banished from the World, farewell all Religion together with it. These are sad Truths, which every Minister that understands his Parish, is but too well acquainted with, we having all the Rubbish of former Ages to remove, as well as new Foundations to lay; in both of which we are hindred, as well as in the Exercise of Discipline, by the forementioned Schism, which is visibly one of the greatest Difficulties we have to struggle with; for Debauch'd and Scandalous Persons immediately threaten to run to the Dissenters, when they are prosecuted for their Immorality; and have actually done so, and been received by them; of which I can give unanswerable Instances when call'd upon to do it.

[§ 56.] Not but that there is too often the highest Scandal in reflecting on the Members of the Church of England as scandalous, when they only take the most Innocent Liberties, and such as are neither contrary to Religion nor Reason. I think that was a good Motto, *Inserui Deo & la-*

tare

Vid.(n) the
ingenuous
Dr. Good-
man's Ev.
Conferen-
ces.

Of the Dissenters way of Preach. Lewd Peo. have flock'd to hear it. 47

ture! we know who those were which were of *sad Countenances*, and who it was that forbid us to be *like* them: This is a terrible Prejudice to Religion, and stands the fullest in View to all Mankind, making 'em believe that 'tis a sad melancholy Business, whereas 'tis indeed the most *genuine Pleasure* we can have in this World, as all have found who truly understand it. JESUS CHRIST LOVES A SANGUINE COMPLEX-

ION'D CHRISTIAN; if this be thought not so *grave* an Expression, let him answer for it from whose Lips I wrote it, at the *Meeting-House*, alias *Dancing-School* in *Crosby-Square*, the of *October* in the Year, 1680. And I believe I may have *Fifty* Sermons more of his by me, and many *Hundred* of others, not the least famous among their Preachers; and I can assure the World that the Dissenters *Style* was not a whit alter'd from what it was when the *Friendly Debate* was writ to *teach* 'em better; another Part of which I have ready at their Service, if they please to deny this *notorious Matter of Fact* as they have done others, and are so wise as to put me to the Proof of it, and it will be seen both by their *written* and *printed* Sermons whether I abuse them. And one would think it should be worse for the Dissenters to be obstinately guilty of these things than for us to tell 'em of it, notwithstanding what Mr. *Baxter* charitably and cautiously says on that Occasion, "That the exposing these things pleases the *Devil*, the *Prelates*, and the *Prophane*; tho' surely the *first* and the *last* are as well pleas'd in the *Preaching*, as they can be in the *Printing* 'em; and I can name more than one of their *Meeting-Houses* which have drawn the *lewd Fellows* of the Town together, sometimes for their *Diversions*, at others for their *Encouragement* in *Wickedness*. † And thus much on the Head of *Scandal*, till I hear more from my *cautious Adversary*.

[§ 57.] I should now come to my own particular *Defence*, and the wiping off those *Aspersions* which he has liberally enough bestowed upon me. But that being a Matter of less Moment, I must beg his *Patience* for a few Pages, whilst I take a little notice of some Passages in the close of his *Defence*, relating to the Dissenter's *Ordination*; wherein he says he confines himself to the *united Brethren*, but will not undertake to defend the *wild Sectaries*, who are a *Scandal* to the *Dissenting Name*. I care not at present to dispute with him concerning the *Power of Ordination*, which has been so often clear'd by better Hands: All I shall take Notice of, is a Passage or two relating to *Matter of Fact*, against which I think I have *just Exception*. He says 'tis their *Rule*, "That none be admitted to preach among 'em, who has not been under *Academical Education* for a competent time, which he says, is usually *Five Years*, unless on extraordinary Occasions. (o) But I'm afraid he'll find, on second Thoughts, that the greater Number of such as have been educated their way, have not stay'd so many Years before they have been admitted to their *Ordination*. 'Tis an easy Matter for him to enquire amongst Mr. *V-----s*, Mr. *Morton's*, Mr. *Roe's*, Mr. *Gale's*, Mr. *Doelittle's Pupils*, &c. I'm sure I've known several of 'em who have not been near that time at *Academical Exercises*,

† They'll hardly put me to prove this, and can scarce find such Instances in our Churches.

(o) Defence, p. 21.

48 *The Dissenters hear those who have no Form of Ordination.*

ercises, and some, as my Fellow-Pupils well knew, not *half the time*, without being any Miracles of Learning, any more than other People.

[§ 58.] But do the Presbyterians and Independents *hear* none but such as have been ordain'd? I'm well assured of the contrary; for I remember several of us, if not all our Pupils went to hear *Friend Bunnian*, when he preached at *Newington-Green*; I'm pretty confident that *Mr. Morton* himself heard him, for I'm sure he commended him; and 'tis notorious that nothing's more common among those Dissenters who are so careful to distinguish themselves in *Mr. Baxter's* Style from the *wild Sectarians*, than to hear Persons, and that daily, who have no *Form of Ordination*. If my own Testimony mayn't be taken, I believe they'l have much ado to get over *Mr. Dorrington's*, who left 'em, as I remember, some time before me, but stay'd longer about *London*. And he says in his Account of the *Dissenting Ministry*, " That there are not only several Private Families " of the Party, but likewise whole Congregations, who content themselves with the ordinary Ministration of those who are not ordained " as by their Principles they ought to be, and this they do for several " Years together; and that 'tis common in their more numerous Congregations that one of those who officiates, is not ordained; thus far that pious and ingenuous Author, whom tho' I have scarce seen, that I can remember, since I was in Orders; yet I've a just Honour for his useful and devout Works: Tho' 'twould be strange if our old Friends shou'd not say he had lost both his *Sense* and *Piety* since he left 'em, especially since he wrote this *perfidious Book* against them.

[§ 59.] And now I must beg a few Words for my self, if it be worth the while, and am sorry I must take up any of the Reader's time or my own on this Article. My Answerer reduces my *Indictment* to these four Heads. 1st. The false *Turn* I give to some of their *Actions*. 2dly, *Disingenuity* in betraying their *Private Conversation*. 3dly, *Insulting* the Works of *Great and Excellent Scholars*. 4thly, *Base Ingratitude* in the whole, besides a sprinkling or two; that 'twas nothing but *Lewdness* which drove me and others to the Church of *England*.

[§ 60.] An Instance of the *first* he pretends to give in my Reflection on my *Fellow-Pupils*, and the whole Party as to their Behaviour towards the *Episcopal Clergy*. He says I ought to have considered their *Provocations* from the *Insults* of those to whom nothing was Satisfactory but their Blood. He does not indeed pretend wholly to excuse their *Behaviour*, and he's in the right on't, but however he smooths and softens it as much as he is able. (p) But I must tell him, that if Matters had been as he represents 'em, there was little *Christianity* lost between them and their Adversaries. And tho' there might be some *Politick Ends* then driven on, to induce the *Dissenters* to accept of an *unlimited Toleration*, yet there were certainly such *Provocations* of their side as no *Government* ought to bear, Monarchy and Episcopacy, Church and State being equally struck at, and daily affronted, in too many Instances to be here repeated. I can't forget *one Example*, tho' a private one, of the Veneration

tion which they then had, for the Church of *England*. 'Twas no inconsiderable Minister amongst 'em that asked a Person, who about that time had drop'd into a Church, and heard a Sermon from a Minister of the Church of *England*, "How he dared do such a thing, and whether he were not afraid lest the Church shou'd have faln upon his Head? It ought to be consider'd, whether 'twas not their *publick factious Opposition* to the Government which justly alarm'd it, and put it on defending it self; and letting loose those Laws which otherwise might have slept long enough without Execution. But once more, for since he repeats, I must do so too, What's this to the *same Behaviour* long after, when no such *Pretext* or *Temptation*, and can this defend their *Principles* and *Practices* in 93, and since that time? But be my old Charge against 'em true or false, he's resolv'd, I must be inexcusable, "because I pretend these things proceeded from their *ill Education*. Once more, this Spirit ran thro' the *Party*, 'tis owing to the *Genius* of the *Faction*, and was not confin'd to their *private Academies*. His second Reason is, "That *whatever* Discourse of this Nature happen'd amongst the young men, was chiefly promoted and encourag'd by my self. What, *every thing*, my old Friends and Acquaintance! Whether I were *present* or *absent*! *Before* and *after* I was there, as well as while I remained with them! That I confess is a little hard: But to come closer, I've already own'd, that I was too much concern'd in those Matters, which was no greater a Wonder, than 'twould be for one that studies at *St. Omers* to defend *Mariana*; nor can I deny but that I might as often *begin* the Discourse on these Subjects as any other; but as I've long since ask'd God's and the Churches Pardon for't, so I wish that *all who are concern'd* would do the same, which would be so far from being any *Disgrace* to them, that 'twould really be their greatest *Glory*. Thus far however I can safely affirm, that as I never publicly reflected on my Prince that I can remember, and know I've spoken *decently* of him in what I printed amongst 'em, for which some of the *Party* were not at all well pleased with me, so I can challenge their whole Body to say that I once spake or wrote the least Word reflecting on the Memory of King *Charles* the First, That BLESSED MARTYR; two Words which they dearly love wherever they see them: For I verily believe that if it shou'd be impos'd as a *Tax* on all who shou'd be capable of enjoying the *Toleration*, whether they abhor'd that Prince's *Murder* and *Murderers*, and believed his *Remains* to be *genuine*, this wou'd be a more effectual way to break the *Conventicles* than all the *Informers* in the World, for I'm satisfied there would not be many of their Meetings left which wou'd have above the Statute-number.

[§ 61.] He says I then began to be a *Poetaster*. (q) What little Poetry I have, I bless God, I've made better Use of since I left 'em than while I was with 'em. However I find my *Friend's* Informations are not always the most *exact*, for he might have known that I was a *Dabbler in Rhyme and Faction* before I came to Mr. *Morton's*, and had printed several things with the *Party's Imprimatur*. But he says, "I endeavour'd to render my self acceptable to the *most provok'd* of the *Party*

50 That I was encourag'd in my Lampoons on the Gov. by their Min.

(r) I can
still go to
Places
where I
wish'd it,
and to the
Persons to
whom I
spoke it.

“ by *Lampoons* and *Pasquils*, and was the *first* in the *Mischief*. I’ve own’d I was forward enough, for I had the *true Spirit* of the *Faction*: I was abundantly *zealous* in the *Cause*, was fired with *Hopes* of *Suffering*, and do solemnly declare that I’ve often wished to be *brought before Kings and Rulers*, because I thought ’twas for *God’s Sake*: And this makes me heartily *pity* those I have left behind me. (r) I cannot tell whether the *most famous* among the *Dissenting Ministers* were the *most Provok’d* of their *Party*; but this I’m sure of, that they were the *Men* from whom I learnt this *way of Writing*. That in their *Hands* I first saw the *Lampoons* which were then *most famous* against the *Government*; that I’ve heard these often repeated from their *Lips*, *Oaths* and all, so often that some of ’em yet *stick in my Memory*, I with I knew how to get them out again, particularly that *zealous* and *religious Prayer*

“ *Noah* be—— and all his *Race* accurs’d; — which that *Good Man* from whom I learnt it, can scarce forget, if still living, since he had that very *Line* so often in his *Mouth*: And ’twas the *hearing* these so frequently repeated and *applauded*, that kindled an *Emulation* in me, and set me on *Imitation*, in *Hopes* to be a *Marvel*, or some such notable *Fellow* amongst ’em; nor were they wanting to *blow the Fire* of my *Youth* and *Vanity*; and I appeal to some of ’em yet living, to some of their *Ministers*, to the *gravest*, and *eldest*, and *most learned* amongst them, whether those very *Ministers* did not *push* me on and encourage me in my *filly Lampoons* both on *Church* and *State*; whether they have not *sent for me* on this very *Account*, given me *Subjects*, furnish’d me with *Matter*, some of ’em *transcrib’d* my *Writings*; several of ’em *review’d* and *corrected* ’em before they were printed, nay, taught me to *deny* ’em when *Enquiry* has been made after the *Author* for this very *weighty* and *honest Reason* [because there might be some *literal Mistakes* in the *Printing*?] I can scarce *forbear* to name some of ’em, but yet will not do it except they *force* me to it. Tho’ I must not omit to inform my *Antagonist* and the *World*, since they have driven things so far, that I can *lead* ’em to the very *Place* where, at a *Meeting* of their *Clergy*, if there were any *new Scandal*, any *base Lampoon* on the *Government*, one or other of ’em *seldom miss’d* ’em, and they were *read* with no great *Desestation* or *Aversation*, and *copy’d* too, and *reserv’d* as *choice Pieces*; some of which, I’ve seen under the *Hand* of one of their *Ministers*, tho’ there was both *Bandry*, *Oaths*, and *Curses* good store in ’em, besides a plentiful *Sprinkling* of *Scandal* and *Disloyalty*. And so, I hope, they are pretty well satisfied on this *Head*.

[§ 62.] He says he has found a second Instance of my *Disingenuity* in my omitting “ to mention the *Authors* which were read amongst us in our private *Academies*. (s) Some I’ve mentioned already, tho’ I find they don’t please him, and therefore if there had been more nam’d he must have been more angry. I must confess I thought it neither *needful* nor *proper* to crowd a private *Letter* with all the *hard nam’d Systematical Gentlemen* that we had in our *Studies*, but that ’twas sufficient to mention a *Course* of *Logic* and *Ethics*. I then acknowledged that time had

obliterated

obliterated much of what had pass'd while I was among the *Dissenters*, for which if he be angry, I think he has not *much Reason*; and tho' if he had taken me sooner I might have oblig'd him more yet if he been't content with what is still left I know not how to help it. But that his *Bri- ffiles* mayn't rise too high, I'll now try if I can recollect a few more of our Books, and to make 'em a little more palatable, I care not if I tag 'em for him into the Bargain: And if they don't *draw over evenly*, this being I fancy the first time they were ever *yoked*, (he may see by my *Me- taphors* that I'm a *Country Parson*) my Fellow-Pupils at Mr. *Morton's* will, I doubt, not acknowledge that they run at least as smoothly, as many English Verses wherewith they and I have formerly been ac- quainted.

Sthalus, & Suarez, Gassendus cum Zabarella,

Et Keckermannus, tuq, Hereborde Pater!

Hicce Opus immortale tuum, Venerande Cracanthorp!

Scheibleriq; ingens, Smiglecijq; Labor.

—*Carolus & Morton; Mortonius inclytus, & Tu,*

Carole! &c. Has he enough of 'em; if not he may have the rest on Demand.

[§ 63.] But he has not done with me yet, nor I with him. He blames me for mentioning only a few Books which were the *private Diversion* of some of the Lads. (t) A fine *Diversion* truly, considering what they (t) p. 15. were. But still "'twas not fair to represent things as tho' nothing but *ad finem* " *Rebellion* and *Lewdness* were read amongst them; (u) nor did I so (u) p. 16. represent them, for I hope 'tis not true, that *Ames's* and *Baxter's* Books have nothing else in them; and I only said, "some of the Lads had " those other Books, (w) which I wish I had never seen, and what I mention'd of them proceeded from a just *Detestation* I still retain'd a- (w) p. 14. gainst them; and I think 'twas much to the Purpose, for it shows that of Letter. *private Academies* are not so free from *Debaucheries* as they'd be thought; whereas, I thank God, I saw no such *Stuff* at the *Universities*, tho' they are too common in and about *London*, and I know have been sold by *Dissenting Booksellers*, notwithstanding their high Pretences to the strict- est *Piety* and *Honesty*. But *Morality* is a *low Dispensation*: I have a Sermon now lying before me a great Part of which is *directly against* it.

[§ 64.] But I must not leave this Head without a Remark or two which I forgot in my former Letter. One is, That the Person who *translated* into English a *Part* of one of those Books which I there mentioned, (but never will again blot Paper with their Names, nor would have ever had 'em made publick) was shortly after *kill'd* in a *Duel*, or *stabb'd* in a *Quarrel*, I've forgot whether, as I was inform'd by him who brought 'em into the House. The other is, that the *very Person* who gave me this *Information*, as I've heard from some of my *Fellow-Pupils*, has since *broke his Neck*: I know the Place where he was *found dead*, but will not mention it, because it would make the thing too *publick*, and be a *Re- flection* on his *Family*. I remember he was a mighty *Trader* in *Sigils*, *Charms*, *Love-Powders*, &c. and had several *Books* on those Subjects. I

must not omit that we had likewise *Biddle's Life and Works* amongst us, some of which I was employed to translate, and promised a considerable *Gratuity* for doing it, but when I saw what 'twas, I proceeded no further.

(x) p. 16. [§ 65.] He falls next into a *merry Vein*, and aims at being *Witty*. (X) He's so far from affronting me with placing my *Writings* in such Good Company as the *King's Book*, and *Salmasius's Defence*, that I'm oblig'd to give him much Thanks for't, and 'tis the *kindest Stroak* in all his 24 Pages. As for his other Learned Authors, "*Colly MyCon*, the *State Poems*, and *Rochester's Sodom*, he may please to return 'em to his *Study*, and let 'em rest undisturb'd in their former Places: But that he mayn't quite lose his Labour in taking Notice of em, I shall help him to a little *additional Fact*, concerning those very Books, which may hereafter give him some *Cause* to remember 'em. As for the *State-Poems*, he may be pleas'd to take Notice, that scarce *One* of 'em was *extant* in those times, but what we had amongst us, either in *Print* or *Manuscript*; and that some of those *Manuscripts* I lately mentioned, are part of that *Choice Collection* which has been since Printed: And so much for his *State-Poems*.

As for what he call's *Rochester's Sodom*, tho' the *Lewdness* of it is so far beyond even *Rochester's*, and the *Sense* so far below him, that he has publicly *disclaim'd* it, I have this to say, That we had some *Copies* of it amongst us at *Newington Green*, tho' I don't remember I ever saw it any *where else*; and that *One* of the *Gent* there employed me to *transcribe* it for him, and I did accordingly *transcribe* it, for which *God forgive me*! I confess there's one *Way* by which he may turn this off, and that is, by giving me the *same Answer* which I received many Years since from some *Ladies*, who were not of the *Church of England*, who in *Discourse* dropt some Words concerning *Rochester's Poems*: I ask'd 'em, whether *Ladies* us'd to read such *Books*? To which I was presently answer'd by the *Lady*, "That those she spoke of were some *Godly Poems* of *Rochester's*, which he had writ after his *Repentance*, and which were then "*newly publish'd*. The *Second* took the *Lie* at the *Rebound* from the *First*, assuring me they were the *Devoutest* things in the *World*. And the *Third* from the *Second*, till I was fully persuaded of the matter; and when I came to *London*, for this was in the *Country*, I enquired for this new *Piece* at the *Booksellers*, and trotted about all *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, but could never yet be so happy as to light on't; tho' perhaps *this Author*, being so well vers'd in *Books*, may direct me where I may find it.

(y) De-
fence. p.
16. [§ 66.] His *Second Accusation* is, "For my *Betraying* the *Private Conversation* of my *Friends*. (y) But I ask him, Which of 'em I've yet nam'd that is not already *Publick*? Or whom I've reflected on, either *Dead* or *Living*? And whether it be because I delight in *Generals*, and am not able to descend to particular *Persons*? Whether I have not as much *Liberty* to speak *Truth* of the *Dissenters* as *Mr. Baxter*? And what I say of 'em for these *Ten Years* last past, when he owns I have had some *Correspondence* with 'em, or as to what was before, even in this *Paper*, unless

less in my own *Vindication*, to which they have forc'd me? I find that the *Private Discourse*, the Discovery whereof most offends him, is what happen'd on the *Death* of the *Officer*, who had Mr. *Morton* in Custody: On which Occasion I said, "That 'twas esteem'd a particular Providence amongst 'em, after their manner. (Z) To this Discourse, he says, "I (z) *Ibid.* "consented, and perhaps prompted, tho' as I remember the thing happen'd before I came thither; and he might as well make me guilty of the King's Murther. But he asks, "Why the Dissenters mayn't admire Providence? I know no Reason why they may not do it as much as they please; and I think 'tis a considerable Instance of it, that I'm thus brought, without any Foresight of mine, to lay open these things, which if they do not wink very hard, may conduce to their Conviction and Amendment, Which if they do, I shall not be much concern'd, tho' others of them gnash their Teeth at me, and throw all the Obloquy they can invent, as I am well assured they will; and hope that I shall be assisted to bear what is far more afflicting,-- the Loss of some Friends who are very dear to me, whom I scarce expect to see, or hear from 'em more after this is Publish'd; but I may pray for 'em still, and hope to meet 'em in Heaven. He won't however, I hope, charge me with Misrepresenting the Dissenters, as to the foremention'd Discourse, when he owns and defends those Censures, and endeavours to prove they were not uncharitable. Let 'em admire Providence, but then let 'em not monopolize it to their own Party, and insist on their Old Whimsies, that they are the only People of God. Would they be willling to be judged with their own Judgment? Or would they think it fair to have their own Words and Arguments turn'd upon 'em? Was not Mr. T's Death as much the Act of God as this Officer's; and yet is there any of the Church of England that says he died because he had but a little before Published so unhandson a Book against us; or that his Sudden Death was a just Judgment, even supposing he should have declared his particular Dislike of that Excellent Petition in our Liturgy,-- "From sudden Death, Good Lord, Deliver us! No; we have none of these things, nor do we pretend to 'em, tho' we know where they are so much insisted on. Alas, poor Church of England! we have no Visions, no Miracles, no Exorcisms; Resisting-Invisible-Flying-Black-Catts,* or casting out Devils: Preaching away Bones in our Throats,* *Sury* or Prophecying the Plundering and Burning of Cities in time of War. † *Demoniac.* These are Prerogatives only reserv'd for the Catholics and Dissenters: The † *Mr.* Church of England has nothing to plead for it self besides Scripture, *An-Baxter's* *Life.* *tiquty*, and Reason.

[§ 67.] He flies into a Rant, in the same Page, against the Ch. of Engl. "For having more than once made a Weather-Cock of Providence; (A) A but he'll have much ado to prove this, unless he takes the Ch. of Engl. in Book print the same Latitude with the fore-mention'd Writer, who would include the ed by those Dissenters themselves under that Denomination, at which rate he may who went bring in all "The Wonder-working Providences of Sion's Saviour in N. Eng- first to N. "land. (A) After this he asks a bold Question, "Whether Providence England. ever did or can give a Right to a Popish Prince to Govern a Protestant with that King- Title.

Kingdom? I'll only say if it never did, what are we to think of the Dissenters, who in such Numbers Address'd a Prince of that Communion as their rightful and lawful Sovereign; and what was their Meaning in all those high *Complements* already mention'd? But as if he were afraid he had not sufficiently prov'd what I had charg'd the Party with in Relation to their *rash Judgments* in the former Instance, he confirms it by another Proof, from the famous Case of the Rt. Rd. the Ld. Bishop of London, for whom he's very sorry, (B) but charges the whole *Ch. of Eng.* as well as his Lordship, and affirms, "That nothing was more just than that God should permit the *whole Church* to be insulted by the Papists, by the very *same Methods* by which they had persecuted the Innocent Dissenters: That is, I suppose, by *Laws and Acts of Parliament*. Thus has he once more confirm'd my Letter, (which, without Prophecy, I can tell 'em they'll still do more and more, the oftner they *writ* against me) and shown, that all things in it were not *bold Falshoods*; for which I must again *thank* him that I mayn't be behind-hand in *Civilities*.

[§ 68.] His next Charge is my *Contempt* of Great and Excellent Authors. (C) He begins with *Milton*: The next he mentions is *Hobbs*; but I hope he does not reckon him amongst 'em, tho' the *University* has so *unjustly censur'd* his Works. Of *Milton* he says, "That it *seems* he had the worst side of the Argument, in *some part* of his *Apology*. It does but *seem* so then, and in the *main* he might still have the *better* on't: And so they say all; for 'tis not the First time I've heard from the Party, what this Author has the *Hardiness* to assert more publickly than I thought he would have done. "That *Milton*, the immortal *Milton*, had *retiev'd* the *Glory* of the *English Nation*. And was all this, think we, because he could yoke a *Substantive* and *Adjective* pretty luckily together, and make the *Verb* bring up the *Rear* with a *handsom Cadence*? No such thing; but 'tis his *Principles* they love better than his *Latin*, which would have pleas'd 'em tho' his Book had been writ in the same *Style* with Mr. *Baxter's Methodus Theologiae*. But after all, wherein have I express'd my *Contempt* of this his Great and Excellent Man, before whom the *Great Salma-*

(D) *Ibid.* *his* trembled? (D) (As much, I suppose, as the little *Wesly* does before his nameless *Adversary*.) One would have thought by this loud *Exclamation*,

that I had accus'd him for *False Concord*, or said that he could not *translate* a *Letter* into *Latin*, which was the most of his Employment under the *Usurper*; whereas the following Lines are all that I can find concerning him in my Letter, (E) "*Milton's Apology* was in *Delicias* with most of us: I am apt to believe poor *W. J.* form'd his *Latin Style* very much by reading him, for he had a very good one. We had also *Eiconoclastes*; indeed I did not call him *Great and Excellent*, which, I suppose, may have rais'd this Author's Indignation: But now I have this Occasion, I must add, that I never could admire Mr. *Milton's Reasoning* any more than his *Rhyming*. He had indeed a *Genius* which he has express'd in his *Paradise lost*, and perhaps more in some Parts of his *Samson Agonistes*; but 'twas not his *Talent* to think close, or argue strongly. And what Esteem he had among *Foreigners*, we may find by the *Embassador* of *Sweden's*

Sen-

Sentiments concerning him, who was in a great Passion because the *Treaty* betwixt his *Master* and *Oliver* was sent to *Milton* to translate, and when it was translated by him, the *Embassador* found *Fault* with his *Latin*, and corrected it, and that not without *Reason*, as will appear to any who consults the *History* of that *Transaction*.

[§ 69.] When he has done with *Milton*, he begins with *Amesius*, the *Great Amesius*, that " *Great, Great Man*, the *Glory* of the *Reform'd Churches*, doubtless far beyond our *Hooker* or *Stillingfleet*, *Laud* or *Chillingworth*, &c. He says, " *I despise and treat his Book* with *Scorn* : But he is mistaken as well in my inward *Thoughts* as outward *Expressions* ; for I declare I had always a great *Veneration* for a *Good Substantial Ob-and Sol-Man*, and next to a *Dictionary-maker* respected and admired him. How I've treated his *Books* let the *Reader* judge, when I have but barely named two of his *Treatises*, his *Medulla*, and his *Bellarminus Enervatus* ; and if the naming him and two of his most *Famous Books* be a *Reflexion* on him, I cannot help it ; tho' mythink it should not deserve more than a *private Censure*, whereas I find my fair and *civil Answerer* would recommend it to a *publick one*. (F) But by whom, I wonder, would he have me *Censured* ? (F) Def. p. 18. By the *Convocation* or the *Universities* ? Not by the *Synod*, I hope, or the *Kirk-Assembly*, for it is a little too *early* for one, and too *remote* for the other.

[§ 70.] I come at last to what I long expected ; His falling on my own *Poem*, which he says " was saved from *Contempt* only by the *Adorable Name* of *Jesus*, (have a care of a *superstitious bowing* at it) and the *Memory* of that bright *Saint the Queen*, " Both whose *Names*, he adds, " the best *Poets* think injured by my trifling *Way of Management*.

In *Answer* -- I do not expect my *Poetry* should please 'em so well now as it did formerly, or as it would still have done, had I the *Honour* to compose any of their *Yearly Verses* at their *Calves-Head-Club*. But is there any *Party* amongst us that has procured a *Monopoly* of *Dulness*, or must none besides have the *Liberty* of *hasty Effusions* ? However that be, it seems a little strange that my *Verses* should be altered all of a sudden, and from that *Universal Esteem* which this *Writer* says their *Author* met with from these *accurate Judges*, (G) should be turned in an *Instant* into (G) p. 20. *arrant Doggrel* on the first Appearance of this *Letter*, without my *Know-of Defense*. ledge, though they continued in their good *Graces* for *Ten Years* after the *Letter* was written. And whether the *Judgment* of the *Party* be since *enlightened*, or what they now declare, must proceed from *barefaced prejudice* and *Revenge*, I am not so proper a *Judge* as other *People*.

I remember I have often heard it spoken of among the *Dissenters* as a great *Judgment* on those who have left 'em, that they have lost the *Gift*, (they'd be angry if I should call it the *Knack*) of *Extemporary Prayer* ; as doubtless any of their own *Ministers* would do, if they should for a considerable time *disuse* it, from a very accountable *Reason* in *Nature* : But I never thought this had reached as far as *Poetry* too, till my *Friend* obliged the *World* with finding it out.

He has indeed made a *notable Discovery*, that the *Performance* in my *Life of Christ* comes infinitely short of the *Subject*, which it must have done.

Of some Verses omitted in my Poem.

done if it had been writ with the *Pen* of a *Seraph*. I can assure him I agree so far with those *best Judges* he mentions, that I know it is very *faulty*; but whether it be in its self so *absolutely contemptible* as he represents it, I desire may be left to more *impartial Judges*. All I can say is, it was the best I had: I ran, as the *Peasant* did, with my *Handfulls* of *Water*, and offered it my *Prince* because I had no *better Present*, and if it was not so *clear* as it should have been, I hope that the *Hast* will in some *Measure* excuse it. In the mean time, if he will be so kind to let me know the *particular Faults* of that *Poem*, I shall own my self highly *obliged* to him, and will *take Care* to *correct* them; but he knows a *General Charge* is neither *Fair* nor *Honest*. I am sensible there are too many *uncorrect Lines* in it, which had been better *left out*, as they may be hereafter: But I remember too some *Lines struck out*, which perhaps had been as well *left in*: I care not if I oblige him with *Two* or *Three* of 'em, which were in the *Original*, but were not *Printed*, and leave him to guess the *Reason*. 'Tis in the *Character* of the *Pharisee*, *Lib. III. v. 215*. The *Lines* were these,

“ Or *murmuring Deep* with *harsh incondite Tone*,
 “ *Wuh Eyes revers'd*, and *many a Brutal Groan*.
 “ *We are the favour'd few*, th' *Elect alone*, &c.

Nor was the *leaving out these Lines* the only Instance, by many, of my *Tenderness* towards the *Dissenters* in my former Writings; and how well they have requited me is now sufficiently evident, they having not only *drawn the Sword* against me, but *thrown away the Scabbard*: They have *wakened* me at last, and forced me out of my *Solitude*, to make the *best Defence* I can, who I am sure did no ways affect a *Quarrel* with them.

[§ 71.] But to return to my *Life of Christ*: Tho' there may be some *Parts* of that *Poem*, of which I hope I might say without *Vanity*, neither my self nor my *Country* have *Reason* to be *ashamed*, yet I'm as ready to acknowledge, as he and his *Friends* can be to assert, that the *Favours* which our late *Blessed Queen* was pleased to bestow on me after she had read my *Book*, were as far beyond my *Expectation* as my *Desert*. They will not however I hope envy me the *Honour* of having scatter'd a *few Verses* and more *Tears* over her *Grave*; tho' I desire them to remember how exceedingly well pleas'd they were with me, and how many *Thanks* they gave me, for introducing that *Glorious Martyr K. Charles the 1st*, in some of the last *Stanzas* of my *Poem* on the *Queen's Death*, as *welcoming her to Heaven*. But tho' they robbed him of his *mortal Life* and *temporal Crown*, they cannot resume what they themselves were the *Occasion* of, his receiving the *Crown* of *Martyrdom* in a better *World*.

[§ 72.] He comes to charge me in the *Cloze* with “ that *base Crime* of *Enormous Ingratitude* to my old *Benefactors*, (H) which in another (H) p. 19. of *Defenc.* “ *Place*, he says, “ is an *Argument* how far a *Base mind* may under good “ *Education* be improv'd in *ungenerous Actions*. But here he does not dif-

disown that the main Strefs of that matter will lye on my last Plea,
 " That the discovering these things, concerning my old Acquaintance,
 " might conduce to their *Conviction* and *Amendment* ; and if it does not,
 'tis none of my *Fault*, who have said what might be sufficient to con-
 vince them. He further pleads, " That tho' I might argue against any
 " of their Principles, and endeavour to convince them in order to A-
 " mendment, yet I ought not to *Betray* their *Private Converse*, nor by
 " false *Insinuations* expose 'em to Contempt. (I) As for any false Accu- p. 20.
 sations, I hope I have already clear'd my self ; and *Private Converse* I
 have likewise answer'd. But 'tis their *Publick* and *General Practice* that
 is now under Consideration ; nor can I prove their *Principles* more fair-
 ly than by their *Practice*, as that by their *Conversation*. I do yet consult
 their *Reputation*, as far as they themselves will give me *Leave* ; but Cha-
 rity begins at *Home*, and when their *Reputation* and my own are *staked*
 against one another, I must ask their Pardons if I don't *sacrifice* the latter
 in a *Complement* to the former, tho' I am mistaken if *unprejudic'd Judges*
 will not be of Opinion that I've consulted even *that*, more than my An-
 swerer.

[§ 73.] However, I ought not to have call'd 'em in general, " A
 " sort of People who are none of the *Best-natur'd* in the World.-- And will no-
 " thing do but the *very Best* ? Mythink they might be satisfied with
 being like their Neighbours, and content with a *moderate share of good*
Nature ; for to have *more than that*, is not the *Best Character*, nor have
 I ever heard their Worst Enemies charge them with it.

[§ 74.] But the *biggest Outcry* he makes against me, and indeed one
 of the most *plausible* is, " That when I resolv'd to go to the Church of
 " *England*, I took *Twenty Pounds* of the *Dissenters Money*, and then left
 'em. (K) I grant I did so, tho' this Author could hardly have known it if
 I had not *acknowledged* it. And where was the *Dishonesty* of this, any (K) p. 20.
 more than the *Honesty* of this Writer, who omits the very next Lines ; of *Defence*.
 " That with this Money I *discharged* some Debts, paying it all away be-
 " fore I went to *Oxford* : And this I actually did, every Farthing be-
 ing otherwise supplied for my *Footing* it thither.

Had I, as this Gentleman ingenuously affirms, *taken their Money* with
 one *Hand*, and *written* against them with the other, or *pocketed* their
Twenty Pounds, and immediately *troop'd* off, they might have some Pre-
 tence of *Complaint*, and might have thought I had learnt from their *old*
Plunderers and *Decimators*, who pleaded that it was not only *lawful*, but
meritorious, to *spoil the Egyptians*. But they know the Case was far other-
 wise, and that notwithstanding this Author's admirable Skill in *fore-short-*
ning, the Letter was writ *Ten Years* after, and not printed till *Twenty Years*
 after I received that *Legacy*, part of which I immediately paid to Mr.
Morton, and all the rest where it was due, and that, as I remember, to
Dissenters only ; which I hope will not be looked upon as an Argument
 either of a *Base* or *Dishonest Mind*. And now let the World judge, who
 has the most Reason to complain of " *Invidious Turns*, and false and
 " artful *Insinuations*. I [§ 75.]

[§ 75.] He next upbraids me with " The particular Favours I have receiv'd from the Dissenters even since I conform'd; which he says, (L) Def. p. 20. " have been very numerous. (L) In Reply to this, as I've acknowledg'd the former Kindnesses which have been shown me by that Party when they thought me for their Turn, and therefore stopp'd me when I was going with Good Encouragement from a Grammar School to the University, as in my first Letter; so I should not deny any of those particular Obligations which they say they have since conferr'd upon me, if I knew what they were; for I can scarce reflect on so much as one Radiant Guinea, or splendid Shilling since I left 'em. I confess I've eat and drank in several of their Houses, and so have they in mine; but I've done the same with Papists, and perhaps with Jews; and I can appeal to several of the Dissenters, whether I have not endeavoured to serve some of them whom I have found Honest to the utmost of my Power; and and this I shall still do, as Occasion offers, in any Common Offices of Humanity, notwithstanding my Adversary's terrible Threatnings; --[" Of what I'm like to lose by the Dissenters Resentments of my Letter, and how much I shall then find my self oblig'd to my new Friends.] (M) Which Passage I solemnly declare I did not hire him to insert, when he was writing against me. Thus much for new Scores; and as for the old, if I have lost any thing by leaving them, as to Worldly Advantages, I do not at all repine at it, for I can allow that Odds, since I've so much the better in Exchange.

[§ 76.] But there are Insinuations in this Writer, as if my own Bad Life were the true Reason of my quitting the Dissenters. I shall instance but in one Place, 'tis p. 7. of his Defence, towards the End; " I can affirm, says he, that the Strictness of our Conversation either reform'd those (who were of a loose Life) or else drove them from us, who immediately took Sanctuary in the Church of England, which he adds, " is fit to be reflected on by Wesley. I have often reflected on my leaving them; I have thought of it, before I went, for it was not done rashly or suddenly, as well as since, and particularly at this present. I own I fled to the Church of England as to a Sanctuary, but it was as a Volary, not a Criminal. I have Papers still by me, which I wrote at that very time, and on that Occasion, and which I could not then think that I should ever review on this; but those it may be, will be more decent Witnesses for me when Dead than Living. A greater and a juster Judge than any I have now to deal with, well knows that it was no Weariness of a strict Life which made me forsake them; and that it is not the Power of Godliness but of Ungodliness which I now oppose in my former Friends. I would have all the Tenderness that becomes a Christian and an English-man, towards a conscientious, modest, and pious Dissenter: But the Faction I'm engaged against are none of these, but apparently Men of no Conscience, no Piety, no Modesty, and indeed, scarce Common Humanity. And supposing

posing they could prove all that they either insinuate or assert concerning me, and that I was really as black as they would make me; That Wesley were scandalous, base, and ungrateful, nay a Jacobite, and a particular Friend to the Young Gentleman on the other side the Water, what would all this be to the Merits of the Cause, since the heaviest of my Accusations against them do not now rest on my own bare Evidence, but have been made good from authentick Prints and Writings? How strict their Conversation was, even in their Academies, I need not repeat, since Mr. Bonnel's Account has sufficiently inform'd the World. As to this Writer's Reflections on my self, I own I ought to have liv'd much better, both before and since I left them: But this I hope I may have Leave to say, without Breach of Truth or Modesty, that if I have not been an Exemplary Liver, I have never been a scandalous one; and for this I can appeal to my Fellow-Pupils, both at Mr. Veal's and Mr. Morton's, for the time I remain'd amongst them. I bless God they all know the contrary to what this Writer affirms; and if any of them should be so unjust as to charge me with any thing of this Nature, I'm extremely mistaken if I do not know some of them, both Ministers and Gentlemen, who notwithstanding this Controversy, would be so generous and just as to be my Compurgators. Tho if all these Insinuations were true, and I had really been a scandalous Liver, while I remained at their Academies, I cannot see how this would be for their Credit, since I am sure I can prove the contrary while I was at the University. Tho one thing I must not conceal, that I may clear my Conscience: I cannot deny that I was too keen and revengeful while I liv'd among the Dissenters, nor can I remember any one Person that I thought had injured me whom I ever could forgive, without something which I thought Satisfaction. Which tho I believe it might be in great Measure from the Asperity of my Temper, yet I wont say but there might be some other Reasons for it, because since I have left them, I find it so far from being difficult, that I cannot but think it the greatest Pleasure to forgive and oblige an Enemy; to which, no reasonable Person will think it any Contradiction that I thus vindicate my self, when charged in the Face of the World, as if I were guilty of scandalous Falshoods.

[§ 77.] I've now but a little more than one Page to wait upon my Friend, and this I can do with the greater Pleasure because he grows very diverting: For he says, "That the true Reason why They, that is, I, and my Faction of One, are so bitter against the Dissenters, is because they stand in the way of the St. Germain's Usurper, (N) which I hope (N) De- they will always do both in Scotland and England; while I suppose, fence, p. 23. I and my Friend are to raise an Army for him, composed of our two selves, almost as formidable a Party as my Answerer would make against him. But he adds another very weighty Reason for the same terrible Conspiracy; "Because the Dissenters unjustly Loyalty is their Pride and Glory, and they are ambitious to express it to their Illustrious Queen. (O) Enough of any Reason, and I hope they are sincere in the main of their Protestation, and (O) Ibid. that

Earnest Address to the Dissenters.

(P) Page
23. and
24. of De-
fence. They
are all his
own Words
except what
are thus
enclosed
[]

that I may live to see them in the same *Good Humour Twenty Years* hence: But in the mean time why does he make me a *Jacobite*, or my *Friend* either; when he might as justly accuse us for being *Circumcised Jesuits*, as somebody did Mr. *Elliot* some Years since? Tho' to advance the *Myllery*, it seems I treated the *Dissenters* ill, and wrote this *Letter* against them, because they opposed the Pretended Prince of *Wales*, and were *Loyal* to Queen *Ann*— in the Year, 93. To which I have very little to answer, but shall only thank my *Friend* for providing me so lucky a close to this Section, almost in his own Words, (P) by which one would think we were both writing against the same Faction. “You may know the Men, “ says he, by their Crimes, which alone makes them considerable and famous, who, to compleat their hated Character, dare [yearly] insult the Memory of the most vertuous and illustrious King that ever filled the English Throne, whose only Fault was too much Kindness to their Perfidious Selves, and too little Value for so dear a Life, which he [lost, rather than he would confirm] those Chains, which this very Party, with equal Wickedness and Folly, had fasten’d on themselves and us. But [Honest Countrymen!] I need not tell you the Character and Behaviour of the Faction, and therefore shall add no more but that I WISH THEM REPENTANCE, BUT NEVER IM-
“ PLOYMENTS.

[§ 78.] Thus far my Answerer. And here I should make an End of the whole, but that I think I ought to add a little more, that I may quite wipe off the Imputation of Ingratitude, and express my true *Thankfulness*, in the best manner I may, to my former Friends, by convincing em of their very evil Principles and Practices, and of the great Danger of them, if they do not yet think ’tis high time to forsake them. In order thereunto I would desire any sober and sensible Dissenter, who has read the former Passages, relating to the Martyr and his Murtherers, to answer me these few Questions. — What they should think of a Person, who, tho’ he made a *Great Profession of Religion*, yet lived in any grievous Sin, suppose *Adultery*, and defended it, and was so far from being convinced of the *Wickedness* of it, that he *Gloried* in it? Could they ever believe that such an one was any better than a *Vile Hypocrite*, and that his Pretences to Religion were the highest *Affront* to it, and that the Church whereof he was a *Member*, would be guilty of a very *hainous Crime*, if they should not cast him out, as one visibly given up to a *Reprobate Sense*, and whose Conscience was dreadfully seared and hardened? — And if such would be their Opinion of one who was guilty of *Adultery*, would the Case be any better if he were notoriously stained with *Murther*? If he had concerted the *Fact* with many *Accomplices*, and committed it as the Result of a long and deep *Design*, not only upon an *Innocent*, but a *Virtuous* and *Religious* Man, after the highest *Protestations* of *Friendship*, and that *Murther* accompanied with all the *Indignities* imaginable, and all this in the NAME of the LORD, which had been blasphemously abused to patronize such *Villanies*? Now, if they would, as I
am

am confident they would, abhor any such *Action* in any *Kingdom* of the *World*, except our *own*, I would further ask, How it is possible for 'em not to do the *same* in the *Case* before 'em? Unless the *Murder* of a *King*, and that by the *Confession* of his *Murderers*, one of the *best* of *Men*, can render this *Crime* more *excusable* than if it were of a *private* *Person* only: And can they think it would not be the *greatest Villany*, next to the *Fact* it self, nay on several *Accounts* a *Greater*, because no such *Temptations* of *Interest*, *Fear* or *Revenge*, to *defend* it after it was done, and while the *Body* of the *Nation* were *Solemnly Fasting* and *Praying* to *God* to avert the *Vengeance* of that innocent and *Sacred Blood*, for a *Crew* of *Miscreants* to keep an *Anniversary Day* of *Fasting* in *Remembrance* of it, thereby at once to affront *God*, and the *Justice* and *Laws* of the *Nation*; to *glory* in their *Shame*, and rivet the *Guilt* on themselves and their *Posterity*, and thereby more than fill up the *Iniquities* of their *Fathers*? Whether these *Men* ought to be suffer'd in a *Christian Common-Wealth*, or indeed in any *Civilized Government*? Whether it can be *Conscience* that guides their *Actions*, or if it be, what sort of *Conscience* 'tis, that strains at a few innocent and decent *Ceremonies*, and yet can swallow the grossest *Immoralities*? Whether there be any such thing among the *True Members* of the *Church of England*, tho' there may perhaps be some very few *Persons*, really of no *Religion*, who call themselves by that *Name*, and yet herd with the former on these *Occasions*? which plainly shews that it is not a *Matter of Conscience*, but of *Faction* only. Whether this be not the plain *Case*, without any *Aggravations*, or artful *Insinuations*? Concerning which I can appeal to *God*; to my *Country*, to the *Consciences* of those who are concerned, and to all the *World*. And whether on the *Whole* it be desirable that the *XXXth* of *January* should be struck out of our *Kalendar*, any more than the *Vth* of *November*, which would be as good *Policy* as *Digging* down an old *Sea-Bank* in *Tempestuous Weather*, or when the *Country* is like to be *overflowed* every *Spring-Tide* by the *Violence* of the *Waves*?

[§ 79.] In short, Dear Countrymen! nothing can be more evident than that you were *abused*, grossly abused by a Parcel of *Cunning Knaves*, in the last Age, under the specious *Pretences* of *Liberty* and *Religion*, till in *Reality* you had neither of 'em left; their *Design*, as appeared by the *Event*, being to make themselves *Great* by the *Ruins* of their *Country*; and tho' this be as clear as the *Sun* to any who looks into their *History*, and has been acknowledged, as to the *greatest* of them, by your *own Writers*, yet the *Charm* has not wholly lost its *Effects*, you are not *thoroughly* awakened. You see, you hear every Day amongst you those who defend these abominable *Practices*. I again appeal to your own *Consciences*, whether this be not *true*, and whether it does not unanswerably follow, that the *only Reason* why they do not repeat them is, because, Thanks be to *God*, 'tis not in their *Power*? And it has been such *Men* as these who we may justly conclude have hitherto hindered any

That their Ministers ought to inform 'em better

Accommodation: For how can *Thinking Men* not be apprehensive of the Danger of admitting Persons of such *Principles* and such a *Temper* into the Church, under the *Shelter* of those who are really of tender tho' *mistaken* Consciences, especially of throwing down the *Fences* in order to do it; which would make it *wider* indeed, when the *Wall* were *demonished*, and as much *stronger* than before, as *Troy* was after *Simon's Horse* was admitted with an Army of *Greeks* in his Belly.

[§ 80.] You may therefore well ask the Reason why your *Ministers* never tell you of these things, nor warn you against them? I'll tell you the Reason; nay, I have proved it already from their own Writings: 'Tis because they *dare* not do it; for these are such *disobliging Truths* that you *will not hear them*; and I cannot but make the same Observation which others have done, that during the many Years I lived amongst you, I cannot remember that I ever heard one Sermon against *Sacrilege* or *Rebellion*, or for *External Worship*, or Decency of Behaviour in God's Service; and this I am pretty sure of, that among several Hundreds of the Sermons which I wrote from your Preachers, and have still by me, there is not *One* upon any of these Subjects. Nor can I imagine more than one Way whereby they can clear their *Consciences* and *Reputations*, as well as *disabuse* their People: — And that is, For the *Dissenting Ministers*, especially the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, to sign a publick *Act* or *Instrument*, and therein to declare their utter Abhorrence of the Barbarous Murther of King *CHARLES the 1st*, and of the Principles and Practices of those Wretches who perpetrated and defended it, and to their last Breath gloried in it, as well as of their Successors, who every Year, by their *accursed Sabbaths*, begun the next Year after his Death, insult his Memory, and *Re-act his Murther*. * For the old *Declarations* of the *Presbyterians* on this Subject, are now forgotten, and I doubt there were but few of the *Independents* who joined with 'em. They know what Arguments are most proper to work on their People, and convince 'em of the Horridness of the *Fact*, as well as of the *Guilt* of those who defend it, and that it was something more than their own Writers softly style it, "*A Rash and Illegal Action*. They may do this in a *Body*, tho' single Men *dare* not; and this if it were once done, would *unite the Hearts* of the Nation more than they can imagine; for while they keep to these *Notions*, it will be an *eternal Barrier* between us and them. Thus have I done my Duty, and 'tis none of my Fault if they neglect theirs; tho' if they ever do what is here proposed, I shall be joyfully and happily mistaken. But however let it be remember'd that I have not fallen out with them or their People on Account of their Opinions in Religion, but for downright and scandalous *Immoralities* and that my Accusation is grounded on *Matters of Fact*, which I am sure they cannot disprove, I think they cannot modestly deny. Nor is any thing I have here advanced, any late *Alteration* in my Judgment, or *turning* things because I have been *ill-used*; for there are those among the

* They are so far from allowing him to be Martyr'd, that they will not now allow that he was Beheaded, but call it Benecking him.

What will be expected from my Answerer.

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the *Dissenters* who know that these have been my *settled Thoughts* for many Years, and that I have still express'd my self to the same Purpose on these Subjects.

[§ 81.] If any Person thinks it worth the while to give these Papers a *Civil Answer*, I must tell him here some of the Things that will be expected from him, without which he were as good never undertake it.

Ist, He's desired to make good, or retract that Complement of my Answerer to the Church of *England*, pag. 13. "That I
" know there are *Fifty* scandalous Persons amongst them
" to such among the *Dissenters*.

IIdly, That he would fill the *Blanks*, pag. 14. and 15. and say whom I was then *flattering* to obtain a *Benefice*, and what *Benefice* it was!

IIIly, That he would answer what I have asserted, § ---- in Opposition to the Defender, "That I was not first in *Mischief*, but was push'd on in my silly *Lampoons* by the most famous of the *Dissenting Ministers*.

IVthly, Acknowledge or deny, That those and others of their Ministers had most of the *State-Lampoons* by them under their own Hands, though there were *Lewdness*, *Oaths*, and *Curses* in them.

V. ly, To name no more, Let him try whether he can defend the Abridger for leaving out that famous Passage in Mr. *Henry's* Life, or if he can answer Mr. *Bonnel's* Account of their private *Academies*.---And when he has done this, and the rest, if I cannot prove what I have asserted concerning the *Dissenters*, I promise to make an Acknowledgment as publick as my Charge has been against them.

[§ 82.] In

64
Conclusion in a Stanza of Mr. Cowley.

[§ 82:] In the mean time, my thinks we should not part in dry
Prose, and since they now dislike my own Verse, I shall borrow a few
from Mr. Cowley, to try if they will hit their Palates any better. They are
in his Discourse of the Government of Oliver Cromwell, p. 54. Stanza 8.
relating to King Charles the 1st, who was the Occasion of the Beginning
this Controversy.

Yet, mighty God! Yet, yet we humbly crave,
This floating Isle from Shipwrack save!
And tho' to wash the Blood which does stain,
It well deserv's to sink into the Main,
Yet, for the Royal Martyr's Pray'r,
(The Royal Martyr prays we know,)
This guilty perishing Vessel spare:
Hear but his Soul above, and not his Blood below!

F I N I S

